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# SOCIAL PARTICIPATION
## IN A
# RURAL NEW ENGLAND TOWN

BY

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THE AUTHOR

# PREFACE

In recent years in this country numerous public and private agencies have assumed responsibility for various sorts of rural social service. Much of this effort, like the seed that fell upon good ground, has brought forth a bountiful harvest; and much of it, like the seed that fell by the wayside, upon rocks, and among thorns, seems to have been wasted.

In view of the successes and failures that have attended these efforts, many rural social scientists have been observing critically, from their different points of vantage, the methods of procedure and the outcome of these various endeavors, and through processes of analysis and synthesis, have been trying to find some of the possible formulæ for successful rural life in various type situations. Thus far, two facts of fundamental importance to successful rural social programization are being understood and accepted by the scientist and the more thoughtful of the laity: first, the social efficiency of rural life is not a thing apart from such conditioning factors as may be designated as biological, geographic, economic, psychological, spiritual, etc., but on the other hand, is a happy coalescence or summation of these factors; second, social programization, to be safe and sound, must be both preceded and accompanied by social diagnosis and research.

The trends of modern life place both a qualitative and a quantitative emphasis upon group life,[1] so that the successful extension of many sorts of worthy service hinges largely upon the same factors that condition associational life. It is one thing to discover that a certain service or good is needed by a given social group, but it may be quite a different thing to get this service or good accepted in such a way as to benefit those for whom it is intended. Therefore, those who are engaged in the various sorts of social service need to know a great many things about the groups which are to be the beneficiaries of such service, including the avenues to their modes of thought.

The present investigation, therefore, is an attempt, through a

1 "Qualitative and quantitative" in the sense of newer forms and greater numbers.

rather intensive study of the associational life of a given rural area, to learn the kind of, the amount of, and the factors conditioning the primary group activities that may be found here beyond the household groups. The area selected was a rural town in southern New England. The study of the kind of primary group activities found here led to a rather extensive investigation of associational structures; the study of the amount of primary group activity led to an emphasis of the time element through the use of such objective measures as the individual-hour of participation and various sorts of participation indices; and the investigation of the conditioning factors of primary group activity led to a rather exhaustive study of the traditions and the socio-economic history of the town.

In offering the results of this study to the consideration of those interested in the various phases of rural life investigation and programization, the writer is aware that many vital weaknesses are apparent. Some of these are due to the limitations of the scope of the study, and some are due to the limitations of money, time, and experience on the part of the investigator. However, it is the writer's hope that, though many findings are very tentative and inconclusive, the data, the discussions, and the methodology herein offered may prove of some service to the social investigators and others engaged in rural social service throughout the country, and in southern New England in particular.

J. L. Hypes

Connecticut Agricultural College
Storrs, Connecticut, March 5, 1926

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# SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN A RURAL NEW ENGLAND TOWN

## CHAPTER I

### THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

#### A DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

*The Purpose of the Study.*—Many students of rural life in this country have been calling attention to evolutionary changes in primary group structures and activities that challenge the survival of certain rural primary groups that continue to operate along traditional lines.[1] Some of the more important of these changes may be described briefly as follows:

1. There has been a movement toward the abandonment, the realignment, and the centralization of many rural social, economic, and professional agencies, and much of this movement has been cityward.
2. Economic efficiency, as well as rising standards of service demanded by rural people are making the average rural community too small and unresourceful to supply its people with more than a few simple, rudimentary socio-economic services. Hence rural interests are becoming more and more centrifugal cityward, and many forms of rural services are becoming canalized into urban centers where a high degree of specialized efficiency may be attained.
3. The rural population has become more volatile as to permanency of residence and as to choice and re-choice of vocational employment. This often disturbs the membership and financial support of rural primary group organizations.
4. In rural southern New England, in recent years, there have come many urban immigrant residents and summer boarders who bring to these historic Puritan towns a state of heterogeneity that challenges many of their traditions and institutions.

[1] "By primary groups, I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation."—Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, p. 23.

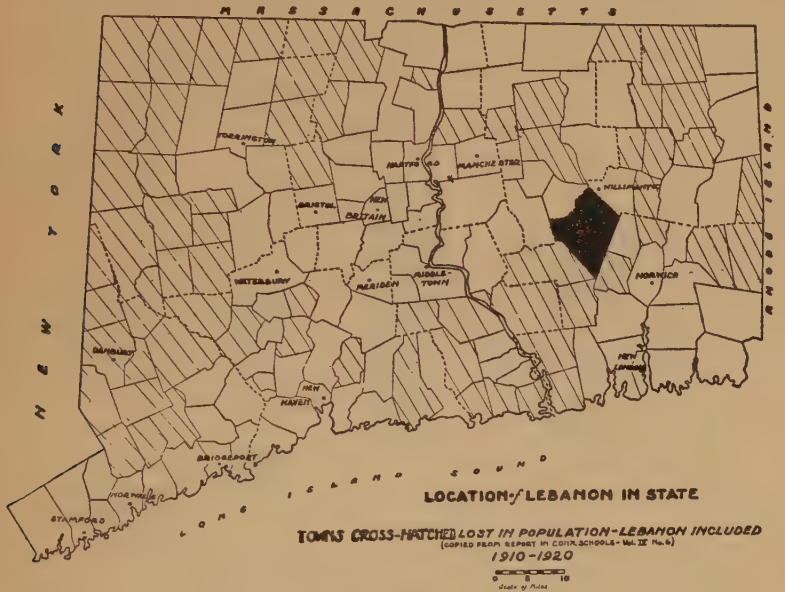
5. As a result of these and other evolutionary changes, many rural social service agencies frequently find it difficult to secure and hold a representative and responsive clientele.

These rural life students, believing that such evolutionary changes are not accidental in their effect upon rural primary group structures and activities, are proposing causal investigations to discover, if possible, the adequacy of the objectives of given types of rural organizations, the conditions under which specific types of rural primary group activities prosper or fail, the factors that encourage or discourage the participation of individuals in specific group activities, etc. Obviously, such investigations need to be undertaken by every important rural social service agency. However, since many rural agencies are designed to deal with primary groups rather than with separate individuals, it is believed, somewhat as a preliminary effort in this general field of proposed investigation, that an analytical examination of the voluntary primary group participation normally taking place in a characteristic rural socio-geographical area might assist in defining this field of investigation and at the same time point out the major difficulties in securing primary group membership and attendance in such areas. Such an examination is set as the main objective of the present study, although, in assuming the task, it is obvious that the expanse of its scope and the lack of sufficiently refined technique of methodology preclude it from being a strictly causal investigation.

*The Scope of the Study.*—More specifically, however, the present study proposes: first, to describe the voluntary primary group structures, excluding family groupings, found in a typical rural New England town,[2] noting historically their developmental and ecological setting; second, to measure objectively and quantitatively the participation normally taking place in and through these group structures, noting indications of nonparticipation; third, to correlate, as far as the limits of the study will reasonably allow, structures and participation with their conditioning factors. Devising adequate methods of solving these problems, and, incidentally, learning something of the present adequacy of the rural New England town as a socio-civic unit, have been assumed as problems of secondary importance to the investigation. However,

[2] The term *town*, as is customary in New England, has been used throughout this study in the sense of *township*.

for practical reasons, the study has been limited further. Socially, it has been confined to a survey of the primary group participation of selected households and the local organizations to which they belong; geographically, it has been limited to the town of




MAP I

LOCATION OF THE TOWN OF LEBANON, AS TO POSITION IN THE STATE AND AREAS OF DECREASING POPULATION

Note:—Based upon the U. S. Census Reports, the Division of Rural Education, State Department of Schools, Hartford, Conn., has found that Lebanon and 68 other towns lost population during the decade ending 1920. In this map, Lebanon is shown in solid black, and the other 68 towns by crosshatching.

To this map have been added the chief cities of the state. All these, with the exception of Willimantic, have a population of 20,000 or more. Note also that with the exception of Danbury, all these cities are situated in the open areas.

Lebanon, New London County, Connecticut;[3] and as to time, it includes only the primary group activities taking place here within the space of a year, namely, from July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924. The last item has made possible the observance of the effect of the seasons upon social participation and has given opportunity to study the summer boarder phenomenon which has been so important in rural Connecticut in recent years.

[3] Because Lebanon has no large villages or cities, has no important industries other than farming, and has a population of mixed nationalities, it has been regarded as nearly typical of rural Connecticut as any town in the state.

*Methods of Securing and Presenting the Data.*—The field part of this investigation was conducted chiefly by means of an intensive house-to-house survey of a 39 per cent chance sampling of the households of this town, checked by a similar survey of all the voluntary primary group organizations found here.[4] A test of the dependability of this chance sampling is set forth in the Table 1.[5]

TABLE 1

TESTS OF THE DEPENDABILITY OF THE SAMPLING*

| | The Entire Town | Surveyed | Per Cent Surveyed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acres of Land | 34,562 | 13,135 | 38 |
| Assessed Val. of Land | 692,529 | 277,816 | 40 |
| Assessed Val. of Dwellings | 262,050 | 102,750 | 40 |
| Assessed Val. of Barns, etc. | 249,760 | 110,200 | 44 |
| Number of Horses | 467 | 207 | 47 |
| Value of Horses | 37,085 | 17,760 | 48 |
| Number of Neat Cattle | 2,486 | 1,334 | 54 |
| Value of Neat Cattle | 118,900 | 61,213 | 51 |
| Assessed Val. of Poultry | 20,157 | 12,047 | 60 |
| Assessed Grand Total of all property | 1,360,484 | 581,786 | 43 |
| Households | | | |
| American | 216 | 70 | 32 |
| Pole | 45 | 14 | 31 |
| German | 19 | 10 | 53 |
| Jew | 74 | 37 | 50 |
| All others | 19 | 13 | 68 |
| Total | 373 | 144 | 39 |

* A 40 per cent random sampling of the households of the town was set for the size of the project in the original plans of the research.

[4] The following important details entered into the making of this survey:

(*a*) As a preliminary step to the survey proper, all of the households of the town were located upon a large map of the town, especially constructed for the purpose, the name and nationality of each household being recorded.

(*b*) In making the selection of households for the survey, alternate households in thinly populated sections and each second or third household in more thickly populated sections were chosen, keeping in mind that about 145 were needed for the desired 40 per cent sampling.

(*c*) The writer and a trained assistant each gave his entire work time to this phase of the project until its completion, which required three and a half months. Each investigator had his own automobile, and each resided in the town during the conduct of the survey, the assistant for the whole period and the writer for the greater part of the period.

(*d*) The field work and certain parts of the interpretations of the study were facilitated by the use of a road map of the town furnished by the State Department of Highways, a soil map of the town made and furnished by Mr. M. F. Morgan, of the Connecticut Experiment Station, and lists of the taxpayers and legal voters furnished by Mr. C. J. Abell, Town Clerk.

[5] This table shows how nearly the goal was reached for the different nationality groups and the different types of farms and economic levels in the town.

The documentary part of this investigation led to interesting researches in the numerous organizational records, diaries, pamphlets, and histories for which this historic old town is famous.[6] Lastly, the data of this study have been presented largely by means of statistical tables and graphs, and evaluated comparatively by means of the Pearson coefficient of correlation[7] and various sorts of participation indices.[8] This treatment has enabled the study to be quantitative and concrete to a pronounced degree, permitting the evaluation of such conditioning factors of participation as soil-type, nationality, distance, season of the year, and the like.

## What is social participation?

*The Psychological and the Sociological Implications of Participation.*—The term *social participation*, in any of its aspects, has a psychological as well as a sociological significance that must be recognized suitably in the programizational work of primary groups. It has psychological significance in that all behavior is rooted fundamentally in the original nature of man,[9] and in the fact that participational behavior in its refined forms is *learned*, and is thus subject to the laws of learning.[10] It also has psychological significance in that voluntary participation, consciously or unconsciously, is a matter of choice and selection. Social participation has sociological significance in that it inevitably refers to other human beings: in other words, it is impossible to participate without participating with *some one* in performing one or more of the stimulus-response steps to group action, namely, sensing and interpreting stimuli, purposing, planning, executing, evaluating, and appropriating the fruit of such action. Its sociological significance is heightened, furthermore, by the fact of the great dependence of the individual upon the group; for it must be recog-

[6] In the matter of records, such a town as Lebanon has distinct advantages over a more recently settled section of country. For example, the records of the town meetings extend in continuous line back to the first settlement in 1698; many historical sermons, pamphlets, and diaries may be found in libraries and in the homes of the people; and there is a generous account of her prominent men and important events recorded in numerous magazine articles, ecclesiastical, economic, state, and county histories.

[7] The Rho formula of this correlation has been used throughout this study.

[8] Since the time element of social participation has been one of the chief concerns of this study, the *individual-hour* has been adopted as the basic unit of measurement. This and other statistical terms are explained later in this chapter.

[9] By the term *original nature* is meant the capacities and the impulses to action received through biological heredity.

[10] Particularly the laws of Mental-Set and Effect. For a satisfactory explanation of the laws of learning, see Thorndike's *Educational Psychology*, Vol. II, especially the first four chapters.

nized that first-hand experience, untouched by others, constitutes but a minor part of the average man's life accomplishments. Writing in this vein, Ross states that:

> A child with only animals for nurses and companions would never develop distinctly human traits;[11]

and in commenting upon the value of the group to the average individual as a means of self-expression and as an agency for obtaining the satisfaction of his wants, Lindeman declares that:

> The individual of the modern world who has no vital adherence to and expression through a group, is an individual who plays a diminishing rôle; he is insignificant and unimportant to the social process in direct proportion to his lack of membership in a functioning group.[12]

*Forms of Social Participation.*—Two forms of social participation, namely, primary group membership and primary group attendance, constitute the chief units of investigation in the present study. Somewhat incidental to the main theme of this study, however, and for limited and specific purposes, other forms of a secondary nature have been recognized, such as participation in the ideas, the accomplishments, and the standards of others, as expressed by the use of modern sanitary and labor-saving equipment in the homes, the use of modern means of travel and communication, the amount of formal education possessed, the use of modern means of recreation and self-improvement, etc.; but primary group membership and primary group attendance presented quantitatively comprise not only the major data of the study, but serve also as devices for measuring associational interests and the conditions of their fulfillment.

It must be admitted, however, that primary group membership and attendance may be only a partial, or otherwise misleading, indicator of the true motives of the activities observed. Groups sometimes purposely try to camouflage both the motives and the form of their activities, and sometimes they conceive their objectives inadequately, as well as select poor methods for carrying them out. However, it may reasonably be postulated that ordinarily the objectives and the methods of primary group action tend toward consistent integration, and that what a primary group *thinks* it is doing roughly indicates its purposes.[13] Thus, by evaluating critically the describable characteristics of group

[11] Ross, E. A., *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 79.
[12] Lindeman, Eduard C., *Social Discovery*, p. 111.
[13] Lindeman, Eduard C., *Social Discovery*, pp. 193, 360.

membership and attendance, such as the qualifications set for membership, the zeal of attendance, the kind of leadership and programs provided, an intelligent observer may be able to discover the salient objectives of a given primary group, as well as something of the interest and success attending its activities. While the exigencies of the present study have narrowed the investigation almost exclusively to two forms of social participation, nevertheless we have been enabled to arrive somewhat inductively at a broader comprehension of its meaning, which we may define provisionally as *the mutually interactive and adjustive responses of individuals and groups to their social environment through the employment of such processes and activities as education, communication, association, coöperation, and organization.*

## MEASURES OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Since the present study is limited to certain phases of primary group behavior, it is obvious that its units of measurement should be in terms of the behavior considered, namely, membership and attendance. Therefore, by means of statistics, the population and the membership of all the local organizations have been numbered and analyzed by nationality, geographical distribution, tenure, and other significant factors; and primary group attendance has been measured in units of time, the effects of such conditioning factors as nationality of membership, the season of the year, distance, mortgages, etc., being observed. However, in order to treat attendance with statistical exactness, two new measuring devices were evolved: the Individual-Hour of Attendance, and the Family Participation Index.[14]

*The Individual-Hour of Attendance.*—By "individual-hours of attendance" is meant simply the clock-hours of time an individual or group spends in a given social activity.[15] Through its use it is possible to state statistically an individual's attendance-participa-

[14] Besides these measures, numerous comparative indices have been devised and described in the report where used. Also the "Participation Moment," while but little used in this study, has a value of theoretical importance. It is defined as the mathematical product of all the factors that contribute to an act, series of acts, or the total behavior of an individual or group.

[15] The families surveyed were asked how many times within the past twelve months the different members of the family participated in this or that activity listed in detail in the survey questionnaire. The average length of time in hours that an activity consumed per session multiplied by the number of sessions attended by an individual or a household during the year, gives the *individual-hours* of participation in that activity by such individual or household. A schedule of average hours per session of the various organizations was secured through checking the reports of the individuals surveyed by the statement of the executive officers of the various organizations subsequently surveyed.

tion in any sort of group activity, and to measure it by norms statistically formulated. Thus by using the hour as a common denominator, we have been able to suggest a unit of measure possessing the qualities of exactness, common understanding, and significance of meaning.

Nevertheless, the real significance of the individual-hour as a unit of measure rests essentially upon the significance of the time element in primary group association. Face-to-face association with others in group activity seems more important to-day than ever before. Modern education and modern methods of transportation and communication have so widened the average individual's socio-economic horizons and have so multiplied his interests and wants that the group activity that can outbid all others in commanding his physical presence becomes a significant indicator, not only of the nature of his interests, but of his standard of ethics as well. The significance of group attendance is heightened, furthermore, by the fact that personal participation insures to the participator impressions and experiences that cannot be received through the mere donation of money to the support of the activity. Believing this, the state exercises the right of compulsory school attendance over certain age levels of its junior citizens, and various other social service agencies strive to interest people in their activities to the point of responding in person. Voluntary personal attendance, then, shows choice of activity, and time voluntarily spent in such activity measures interest therein more accurately and objectively, perhaps, than any other single measure yet devised. Fry, in his rural church study, after considering the usual standards of measuring church efficiency, such as money contributions, the proportion of the people who belong to the church, the type of programs provided by the churches, the number of new members, etc., concludes that the amount of time people contribute to their churches is, in many respects, a better comparative measure than any of the others. Thus he writes:

> Each human being has the same twenty-four hours a day to invest in the activities of life, so the assumption that two men who devote ten hours a month to their church are equally interested in it is apt to be more nearly correct than is the hypothesis that two men who donate twenty-five dollars a year have the same interest. This assumption applies particularly in rural areas where there is not the same tendency as in cities for members to give money in lieu of time contributions to Church.[16]

[16] Fry, C. Luther, *Diagnosing the Rural Church*, p. 36.

*The Family Participation Index.*—Based upon individual-hours of attendance, the family participation index has been devised as a comparative measure of the attendance-participation of different household groups. This unit of measure is a sort of average secured by dividing the total individual hours of attendance of a household participating in a given social activity by the number of

TABLE 2

THE FAMILY PARTICIPATION INDEX

| | Age (Yrs.) | Individual-Hours of Attendance | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Church and its Subsidiary Organizations | High School | Elementary School | Grange | Town Meeting | American Men Lodge | Men's Club | Farmers' Coöperative Exchange | Total Hours |
| Household X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Father | 53 | ✓ | | | ✓ | | ✓ | | 2 | 2 |
| Mother | 45 | 280 | | | 37 | 6 | | | | 323 |
| Son | 18 | 96 | ✓ | | 50 | | 60 | | | 206 |
| Daughter | 15 | 192 | 1080 | | 50 | | | | | 1322 |
| Total Hours | | 568 | 1080 | | 137 | 6 | 60 | | 2 | 1853 |
| Family Participation Index | | 142 | 540 | | 34 | 6 | 30 | | 2 | 463 |
| Household Y | | | | | | | | | | |
| Father | 31 | 150 | | | | 2 | | 24 | | 176 |
| Mother | 30 | 150 | | | | 2 | | | | 152 |
| Son | 10 | 48 | | 1050 | | | | | | 1098 |
| Daughter | 5 | 48 | | | | | | | | 48 |
| Total Hours | | 396 | | 1050 | | 4 | | 24 | | 1474 |
| Family Participation Index | | 99 | | 1050 | | 2 | | 24 | | 369 |

The family participation index is computed by dividing the total individual-hours devoted by a household to a given activity, by the number of members of the household eligible to participate. A check mark indicates an eligible member not participating in an activity in which the household is represented.

members of the household eligible to participate in that activity. An illustration of the derivation of this unit of measurement is taken from the actual attendance records of two households in the organized group life of the town, and is set forth in Table 2. Like indices were derived for participation in informal group activities and for the total primary group activity of the households studied.

It is to be observed from Table 2 that:

1. In those organizational activities in which both these households participate, the participation indices of Household X are larger than those of Household Y.
2. As indicated by the participation indices, it is evident that the participation interests of these households differ not only in amount, but also in kind. It is probable that if one or two other household organizational attendance records had been added to this table, other attendance columns would have to be added.
3. While some of the nonparticipation indicated in this table is due to the volition of the nonparticipants, it is due also in some cases to lack of eligibility. For instance, the father of Household X, being an unnaturalized immigrant, is ineligible to participate in the political phases of the town meeting; those under 21 years of age also are ineligible to participate in the political activities of the town meeting; only adult men are eligible to membership in the Farmers' Coöperative Exchange; and those under 14 years of age are ineligible to membership in the Grange.
4. The participation indices are all refined indices with the exception of the indices of church attendance and total participation. These indices are gross indices. Membership, in this study, has been defined as those formally enrolled in an organization and those whose attendance is considered more than casual; but in computing the family participation index, *eligibility* becomes the criterion of group membership and attendance. So, in the matter of church attendance, all adults are presumably eligible, and the very young children often are members of the cradle-roll of the Sunday school and frequently are taken to the other church services by their parents; hence, the index for church participation as a whole is a gross index.

# CHAPTER II

## PRIMARY GROUP PARTICIPATION:

### Structures, Membership, and Attendance

#### PARTICIPATION STRUCTURES

Social participation, very much like the life processes of the human body, requires functional mechanisms. These mechanisms and their functions are so inextricably related and interdependent that an adequate understanding of the one requires a knowledge of the other as well. Therefore a detailed consideration of primary group participation in the present study has been prefaced by a brief analysis of the population and the local organizations of the town, with special emphasis on those phases most intimately integrated with primary group membership and attendance.[1]

*The Population.*—Some of the more important characteristics of the population of this town entering into its primary group membership and attendance are: number, nationality, age, sex, summer-residence, and literacy factors. These factors are analyzed and presented statistically in Tables 3, 4, 5-A and 5-B.

The salient facts set forth in Table 3 are: first, by actual count, foreign households comprise 42 per cent of the households of the town;[2] second, by weighted estimate, the present population numbers 1705, of which, because of the size of family differential, the foreigners comprise 48.7 per cent; third, by weighted estimate, the summer boarders constitute a group 82 per cent as great as the standing population.[3]

Table 4 shows likewise that in Lebanon the age group under 15 excels that of the United States as a whole by 4.2 per cent; that age group 15-44 of Lebanon is excelled by that of the United

[1] Broadly conceived, the population itself may be considered a social structure; more narrowly conceived, it may be regarded as the raw structural material out of which smaller functional groups are created. But, however considered, it is clear that for background purposes in this section of the study, an analysis of the population itself is desirable.

[2] *Foreign*, in the sense that the head of the household is an immigrant.

[3] It should be recalled that an actual count was made of the households of the town, noting the name and the nationality of each. The weighted estimate of the population was computed by finding the sum of the products of the average number of individuals per household in the several nationalities surveyed by the number of households of those nationalities found in the town. In like manner the number of summer boarders was estimated.

States by 4.4 per cent; and that age group 45 and over in Lebanon excels that of the United States by 0.2 per cent. Thus Lebanon shows a slight excess in percentage of young children and older people over these two general divisions of the population of the United States as a whole.[4] However, based upon Gillette's findings

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF STANDING POPULATION AND SUMMER BOARDER GROUP (ESTIMATED) 1924

| Nationality | Households | | Per Cent Surveyed Keeping Boarders | Average Size of Household Surveyed | Estimated No. of People in Town | Summer Boarders | | Per Cent Boarders Are of Standing Population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. in Town | Per Cent Surveyed | | | | Ave. No. Per Household Surveyed | Estimated No. in Town | |
| American... | 216 | 32 | 2.9 | 4.05 | 875 | 1.5 | 9 | 1 |
| Pole..... | 45 | 31 | 42.9 | 5.78 | 260 | 13.6 | 263 | 101 |
| German..... | 19 | 53 | 10.0 | 5.10 | 97 | 2.0 | 4 | 4 |
| | | | | | | | 768 | |
| Jew..... | 74 | 50 | 81.0 | 5.02 | 371 | 12.8 | 350* | 318 |
| All Others... | 19 | 68 | 7.7 | 5.38 | 102 | 2.0 | 3 | 3 |
| Total..... | 373 | 39 | 27.7 | 4.66 | 1705 | 11.7 | 1397 | 82 |

* This figure represents number of guests for the season at the Grand Lake Hotel (Jewish).

Partial résumé:

Per cent foreign households are of total, 42.0.
Per cent foreign population is of total population, 49.7 (estimated).
Per cent summer boarders are of total standing population 82.0 (estimated).

TABLE 4

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF LEBANON AND THE UNITED STATES, BY BROAD AGE GROUPS

| Age Groups | Distribution by Percentage | |
|---|---|---|
| | Lebanon | United States |
| Under 15..... | 36.0 | 31.8 |
| 15–44..... | 43.0 | 47.4 |
| 45 and over..... | 21.0 | 20.8 |
| Total..... | 100.0 | 100.00 |

[4] The data on the population of the United States in Table 4 were computed from the 1920 census as tabulated and presented by the 1925 issue of *The World Almanac* (published by The New York World), and the data on the population of Lebanon are based upon the findings of the present study for the year 1923–24. While the two dates do not coincide, the writer does not consider the value of this table seriously impaired thereby.

in the 1910 census, the age groups of Lebanon are practically the same as for the *rural* population of the United States.[5]

Table 5-A presents a measure of the amount of formal education possessed by the households surveyed. There are in these households at least 7 college graduates, 38 high school graduates, and 166 eighth grade graduates. This table also shows that in terms of our public school system, the Jews are the close educational rivals of the Americans, while the Polish mothers are the most poorly educated group of all those investigated, the median having only the educational equivalent of the third grade in our public schools.[6] This table discloses the further significant facts that 91 per cent of the 74 immigrant households surveyed use their native foreign languages regularly in their homes, and that 34 adult foreigners can neither read nor write the English language.

Lastly, as a phase of the educational attainments of the people of this town, Table 5-B presents a statement of the degree to which the households of this town are partaking of the modern ideas relative to convenience and sanitation in and about the home. It is to be noted that these ideas, on the whole, are exhibited a little more uniformly by the Americans than by the foreigners, though the latter make a fair showing in the possession of refrigerators, running water in the homes, and modern means of communication, due in part to the effect of the summer boarder business, no doubt. In way of summary, it may be observed that while the population of this town is diverse as to nationality, it cannot, on the whole, be regarded as ignorant or out of touch with those ideas that seem to be a part of our modern civilization.

*The Organized Groups of the Town.*—Society has evolved many sorts of regulatory and operative institutions,[7] and has permitted the formation of many special-interest organizations and informal groupings. These are variously classified. For instance, they are known by their chief function or product as educational, religious,

[5] Gillette figures the distribution of the rural population of the United States by the 1910 census report to be by age groups as follows: under 15, 36.2 per cent; 15–44, 44.9 per cent; 45 and over, 18.7 per cent. Gillette, John Morris, *Rural Sociology*, p. 99.

[6] Securing this information was difficult in some cases. There were a few who were evidently ashamed of the small amount of their formal schooling, and tried to conceal it; and in the case of foreigners who have not mastered the English language, it was difficult to get a satisfactory equivalent of their education in terms of our public school system. If the families had children in school, by conference with the adults and children the investigators attempted to get a statement of the parents' education in terms of the children's school grades. In special cases this information was checked by conference with the local public school teacher. Moreover, the investigators cannot claim more than approximate accuracy of these particular data.

[7] (*a*) Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, Chap. XL, "Institutionalization." (*b*) Snedden, David, *Educational Sociology*, Chap., XIX, "Miscellaneous Social Processes," Part A.

## TABLE 5–A

### Amount of Formal Education of Households Surveyed

(In terms of the public school system)

| Nationality | Number Who Are Graduates of | | | | | | | | | Median Grade | | | Number Who Cannot Read or Write English | | Households that Speak Other than English at Home | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 8th Grade | | | High School | | | College | | | | | | | | | |
| | Father | Mother | Best Educated Child | Father | Mother | Best Educated Child | Father | Mother | Best Educated Child | Father | Mother | Best Educated Child | Father | Mother | No. | Per Cent |
| American | 34 | 25 | 14 | 4 | 10 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 8.0 | 9.0 | 9.5 | .. | .. | 0 | 0 |
| Pole | 1 | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6.0 | 3.0 | 8.0 | 7 | 9 | 14 | 100 |
| German | 1 | .. | 3 | 2 | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | .. | 6.0 | 4.0 | 7.0 | .. | 4 | 10 | 100 |
| Jew | 30 | 31 | 8 | .. | 2 | 3 | 1 | .. | .. | 8.0 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 3 | 10 | 35 | 95 |
| All Others | 7 | 6 | 4 | .. | 1 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | 8.0 | 8.0 | 9.0 | 1 | .. | 8 | 62 |
| Total | 73 | 62 | 31 | 6 | 13 | 19 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 11 | 23 | 67 | 46<br>91* |

*This figure is for all foreigners as a group.

TABLE 5–B

LABOR-SAVING AND SANITARY EQUIPMENT POSSESSED BY HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED

(Stated in percentages)

| Nationality | Electric Lights | Furnace | Running Water (in house) | Toilet and Bath (indoor) | Washing Mach. | Sewing Mach. | Refrigerator | Fireless Cooker | Oil Stove | Vacuum Cleaner | Kitchen Cab. | Medicine Cab. | Lawn Mower | Telephone | Automobile | Piano | Organ | Radio | Other Mus. Instru. | Power Mach. | Separator | Milking Mach. | Incubator |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| American | 11 | 26 | 26 | 14 | 26 | 38 | 63 | 1 | 24 | 11 | 24 | 20 | 38 | 30 | 57 | 54 | 16 | 11 | 31 | 13 | 23 | 3 | 11 |
| Pole | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | 35 | 21 | 7 | 14 | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | 7 | 21 | .. | 7 | .. | 35 | .. | 35 | .. | 7 |
| German | .. | .. | 40 | .. | .. | 30 | 40 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 20 | 20 | 20 | 10 | 10 | .. | 70 | .. | 20 | .. | 10 |
| Jew | 8 | 5 | 22 | 11 | 3 | 14 | 59 | .. | 19 | .. | 8 | 3 | 24 | 22 | 24 | 19 | .. | 5 | 59 | 11 | 11 | .. | 16 |
| All Others | 15 | 8 | 23 | 8 | 15 | 38 | 54 | .. | 31 | 8 | 31 | 38 | 31 | 46 | 46 | 31 | 23 | 8 | 38 | 31 | 8 | .. | 8 |
| Total | 9 | 15 | 24 | 11 | 15 | 31 | 55 | 1 | 21 | 7 | 17 | 14 | 29 | 26 | 41 | 35 | 11 | 8 | 44 | 12 | 19 | 1 | 12 |

economic, civic, fraternal, recreational, and the like. They are classified also according to the degree of personal participation required of their members. Those social groups operating in a broad, impersonal way, such as the state or a large business corporation, are termed secondary, and those requiring face-to-face coöperation and participation, particularly if it is more or less periodic and frequent, are termed primary. Then again, social groups are classified according to the degree of the formality of their organization and activities. For the purpose of this study, those social groups have been designated *formal* if they have a tangible organization and program, if they specify qualifications for membership and rules for participation, and if they provide a time and place for assembly. Examples of such are: the church, the school, the lodge, and the business coöperative. Other social groups not possessing these characteristics in whole or in part, whose participants are more or less casual beneficiaries, lacking the status of formal membership responsible for the policies or the perpetuation of the structure or the activity, are designated *informal*. Examples coming under this category are: groups attending moving picture shows or like forms of commercialized entertainment, groups visiting their neighbors, taking a vacation, or attending a house party, and the like. However, the chief aim of this section of the report is to develop the topic of group classification no further than to present those primary group organizations, beyond family groupings, found in this particular town in tangible enough form to be surveyed.[8] These are classified in Table 6.

The geographical and the social distribution of the membership of these groups is a matter of interest. Map II, on page 18, presents both phases of this distribution. It may be noted from the map that with the exception of Lebanon Village, which is largely foreign, and of Lebanon Center, which is largely American, the native elements and the foreign elements of the population are fairly evenly intermingled throughout the town.[9] It will be noted also by the numbered lines radiating from the dots and circles representing the location of the households, not

[8] It is recognized freely that many primary groups, such as boy-gangs and country store loafers, were so informally organized as not to permit of surveying in this study, but it is believed that most of the participation of such groups was secured in the personal interviews of the survey and is accounted for in the informal participation report.

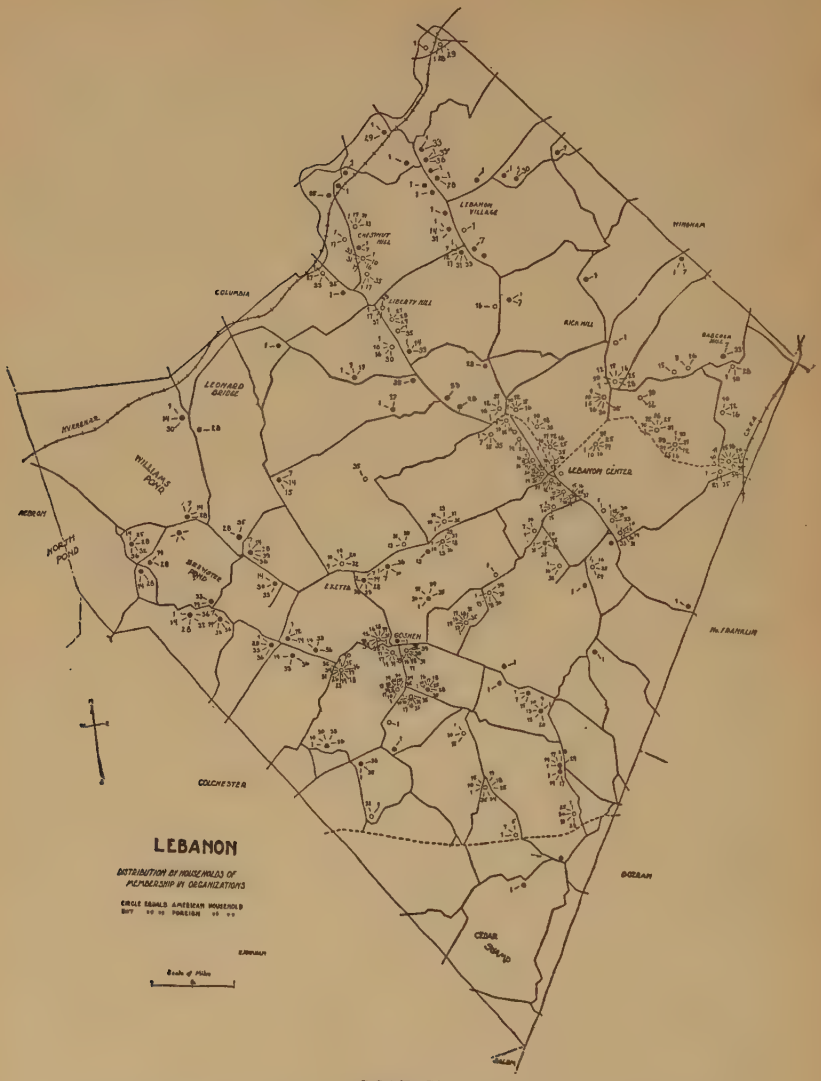
[9] A dot represents the location of a foreign household; a circle, an American household.

only how many organizations, but also what organizations, are represented in the various households. Thus, if a dot has a single line radiating from it and the line is numbered 1, it represents a foreign household that belongs to no other organization than the church; if a circle has three radiating lines numbered 1, 7, and 10, this represents an American household that has membership in the church, the high school, and the Grange. This map also shows that the organizational membership of the town is concentrated largely at Goshen, Liberty Hill, Lebanon Center, and a few spots

TABLE 6

ORGANIZATIONS IN LEBANON (A CLASSIFIED LIST)

| Organizations | Number | Total |
|---|---|---|
| Schools | | |
| High School | 1 | |
| Elementary Schools | 10 | 11 |
| Churches and Synagogues | | |
| Congregations | 5 | |
| Sunday Schools | 4 | |
| Ladies' Aid | 4 | |
| Young People's Organizations | 4 | |
| Missionary Societies | 4 | |
| Church Schools (other than above) | 2 | 23 |
| Economic | | |
| Creamery Associations | 4 | |
| Milk Hauling Associations | 2 | |
| Spray Ring | 1 | |
| Coöperative Grain Associations | 2 | |
| Farm Bureau | 1 | 10 |
| Fraternal | | |
| K. of P. | 1 | |
| American Men | 1 | |
| Grange | 1 | |
| D. A. R. | 1 | 4 |
| Civic | | |
| Town Government | 1 | |
| Community Clubs | 2 | |
| Get-together Clubs | 1 | |
| League of Jewish Women | 1 | 5 |
| Athletic and Recreational | | |
| Basket-ball and Baseball Teams | 2 | |
| Gun Clubs | 2 | |
| Dancing School | 1 | |
| Jewish Hotel | 1 | 6 |
| Grand Total | | 59 |




MAP II

DISTRIBUTION, BY HOUSEHOLDS, OF MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

See opposite page for interpretation of numbering on map designating the kind of organization.

CLASSIFICATION OF ORGANIZATIONS AND KEY TO THE NUMBERS OF MAP II INDICATING DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERSHIP

| GROUP I (1–10) *Religious and Educational* | GROUP II (10–25) *Fraternal and Recreational* | GROUP III (25–30) *Outside Lebanon* | GROUP IV (30–40) *Economic* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Church or Synagogue | 10. Grange | 25. Masons | 30. Farm Bureau |
| 2. Sunday School | 11. D. A. R. | 26. Eastern Star | 31. Coöp. Grain |
| 3. Ladies' Aid | 12. K. of P. | 27. Odd Fellows | 32. C.M.P.A. |
| 4. Christian Endeavor | 13. Get-together | 28. Miscellaneous | 33. N. E. M. P. A. |
| 5. Missionary Society | 14. League of Jewish Women | 29. Church | 34. Spray Ring |
| 6. Boys' and Girls' Clubs | 15. Dancing School | | 35. Lebanon Creamery |
| 7. High School | 16. American Men | | 36. Milk Hauling |
| | 17. Community Club | | |
| | 18. Gun Club | | |
| | 19. Baseball Club | | |
| | 20. Basket-ball Club | | |

near these places. It appears that not only is the population more dense in these places, but that the households here have joined more organizations than is true of the average household in the more sparsely settled sections of the town.

*Service Organizations and Neighborhoods.*—In view of the array of organizations presented by Table 6, one might believe this town almost self-sufficient in providing its citizens the various socio-economic services required by modern stanadrds of living. Table 7 gives a measure of this self-sufficiency.

TABLE 7

SERVICE EFFICIENCY OF THE TOWN

(By 23 classified items)

| Nationality | NUMBER OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC SERVICES | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Secured in Town | Secured Out of Town | | | | Total Services | Per Cent Furnished by the Town |
| | | Business | Mail Order | Fraternal Religious Education | Total | | |
| American | 444 | 630 | 10 | 34 | 674 | 1118 | 40 |
| Pole | 41 | 141 | 3 | 11 | 155 | 196 | 21 |
| German | 21 | 109 | 4 | 8 | 121 | 143 | 15 |
| Jew | 146 | 395 | 49 | 22 | 466 | 612 | 24 |
| All Others | 33 | 131 | 3 | 10 | 144 | 177 | 19 |
| Total | 685 | 1406 | 69 | 85 | 1560 | 2246 | 30 |

The above table summarizes the responses to this question: Where, during the past year, did you get the most of each item of socio-economic services listed in the questionnaire? Of these services, the town itself furnished the Americans 40 per cent, the foreigners 21 per cent, and the town as a whole 30 per cent.

In answer to the question, "Where do you get most of the following: groceries, work clothes, best clothes, kitchen hardware, farm hardware, commercial fertilizer and feed, banking service, recreation, medical and dental service, etc.?" seventy per cent was found to come from sources outside Lebanon. All the banking service, all of the dental and medical service, all of the better clothes and most of the work clothes, most of the feed and groceries, about one-third of the church attendance, practically all of the hardware for the home and farm, and all or practically all of such forms of amusement and education as moving pictures, fairs, lyceum courses, and the like, are had outside the town. The mail order house does considerable business here in such lines as harness, automobile tires, clothing, and notions, and the city bakeries and laundries have regular service routes throughout the town for the service and convenience of both the farmers and the summer boarder groups.

While it is probably true that this great degree of socio-economic dependence precludes the existence of a "community" in this town, as certain rural sociologists understand that term,[10] there are here, built around a few of the simpler socio-economic services, a few loosely defined neighborhoods. At Goshen there are a Congregational church and a community club; at Liberty Hill a Congregational church, a community club, and a small grocery; at Lebanon Center a Congregational church and a Baptist church, the town high school, two groceries and a post office, the town hall, a creamery, and four or more lodge halls; and in the southwestern part of the town there are situated a Jewish synagogue in a private home and the Grand Lake Hotel (Jewish) which, for the summer months, is a great recreational and social center. Perhaps the traces of other neighborhoods could be found in other sections of the town, but, in any case, the binding element could hardly be more than a mere acquaintanceship that has a hard struggle for existence, owing to nationality antipathies, divergencies in church connections, the frequent removal of families, and the like. That there was here during the Revolutionary days, and for a long time thereafter, at least one strong community, practically coterminous with the town limits for most interests, seems

[10] See: (*a*) Galpin, C. J., *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community.* University of Wisconsin Research Bulletin 34, May, 1915. (*b*) Sanderson, Dwight, *The Farmer and His Community*, p. 7.

evident, as we shall note more fully later in this report; that this ancient community, as a definite, more or less solidified entity, has passed into history, cannot be doubted. For certain people and for certain purposes, the town as a whole, or in local small areas, still suffices; but, on the whole, taking into account summer residents, as well as the standing population, its interests to-day are centrifugal, and lead perhaps to New York City nearly as much as to Lebanon Center.

## THE AMOUNT OF PRIMARY GROUP PARTICIPATION

*Group Membership Participation.*—Since group membership has been recognized in this study as one of the important forms of primary group participation, let us note the extent to which the households surveyed adhere to the voluntary primary groups of the town.[11] Tables 8-A, 8-B, 8-C, and 9 present these data statistically.

Table 8-A shows that 1 American and 2 Jewish households belong to no formal primary group organizations whatever; that 38 households belong to but 1 organization; and that the average American household belongs to 5.2 organizations, while the average Polish household belongs to 2, the German 1, the Jewish 2.4, and households of other nationalities 3.2 organizations (see Figure I).[12] Thus, whatever the causes of the participational phenomena, it is clear that the native stock excels the foreigners in membership in the local primary group organizations.

Table 8-B likewise presents the distribution of the formal organizational membership among the households surveyed, and shows that the American households are represented in all the organizations to which Americans are eligible;[13] and that outside of church and high school attendance, the foreigners do not engage to any appreciable extent in the formal group activities of the town, except in the League of Jewish Women, which is nationality-limited.

[11] In Tables 8–A and 8–B, the membership of the public elementary schools was omitted, owing to the fact that it comes under the provisions of the compulsory attendance law, in which case membership is not wholly voluntary.

[12] In Table 8–A the various church, economic, and recreational organizations were considered separately; in Table 8–B certain grouping of organizations was made.

[13] So far as could be determined, the League of Jewish Women and the D. A. R. are the only formal organizations of the town whose membership restrictions, by their constitutions and by-laws, are such as to cause a marked nationality variant in the present membership of the organizations of the town.

## TABLE 8–A

### Number of Organizations in which Households are Enrolled

| Nationality | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | Av. | Median | Per Cent Index |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| American | 1 | 7 | 9 | 4 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | 5.2 | 5.0 | 100.0 |
| Pole | .. | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2.0 | 1.5 | 38.5 |
| German | .. | 6 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1.0 | 1.0 | 19.2 |
| Jew | 2 | 12 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2.4 | 3.0 | 46.2 |
| All Others | .. | 6 | 2 | 1 | .. | 1 | .. | 1 | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3.2 | 2.0 | 61.6 |
| Total | 3 | 38 | 23 | 16 | 18 | 11 | 11 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | 3.8 | 3.0 | 71.0 |

This table should be read: One American household and two Jewish households belonged to no organization; seven American, seven Polish, six German, twelve Jewish, and six households representing all other nationalities, belong to but one organization; etc.

## TABLE 8–B

### Distribution of Household Membership among the Formal Voluntary Organizations of the Town

| Households Surveyed | | Number of Households Represented in Each Organization | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nationality | No. | Church and its Subsidiary Organizations | Grange | American Men Lodge | D. A. R. | K. of P. Lodge | League of Jewish Women | Community Club | Get-together Club | Dancing School | Athletic and Recreational Clubs | Economic Associations | High School | Town* Meeting | Out-of-Town Organizations | Average Per Cent |
| American | 70 | 50 | 27 | 29 | 5 | 11 | 0 | 12 | 7 | 16 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 59 | 16 | 26 |
| Pole | 14 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 16 |
| German | 10 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 14 |
| Jew | 37 | 12 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 21 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| All Others | 13 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 16 |
| Total | 144 | 92 | 31 | 31 | 5 | 13 | 21 | 16 | 9 | 20 | 9 | 11 | 26 | 71 | 48 | 20 |

* Households represented on the list of legal voters of the town are: American, 66; Pole, 1; German, 2; Jew, 8; All Others, 6. Note the amount of non-participation among the foreign households.

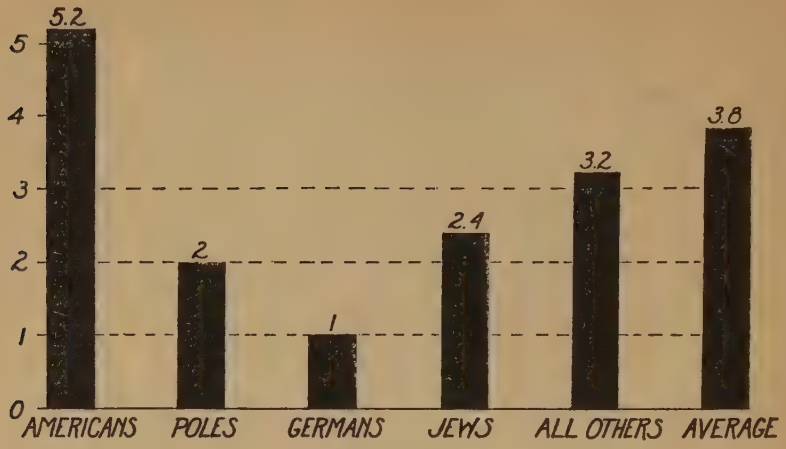



FIGURE I

MEMBERSHIP-PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Average per household—144 households.

Table 8-C shows that in the informal group activities of the town, all nationalities participate. Although the data of this table do not show whether or not the different nationalities intermingle in informal group activities, they show that somewhat in contrast

TABLE 8–C

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD PARTICIPATION AMONG THE INFORMAL GROUP ACTIVITIES OF THE TOWN

| Households Surveyed | | Number of Households Participating in Each Activity | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nationality | Number | Holiday Events | Regular Vacations | Agricultural Fairs | Moving Pictures and Circuses | Out-of-town Business and Recreational Trips | At-Home Parties | Visiting Neighbors | Average Per Cent |
| American | 70 | 65 | 21 | 57 | 56 | 53 | 46 | 64 | 74 |
| Pole | 14 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 12 | 8 | 13 | 54 |
| German | 10 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 10 | 57 |
| Jew | 37 | 22 | 13 | 6 | 21 | 32 | 17 | 32 | 55 |
| All Others | 13 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 62 |
| Total | 144 | 108 | 41 | 75 | 99 | 118 | 84 | 129 | 64 |

Note: Compared with Table 8–A, it is readily seen from the above table that all nationalities participate more uniformly in the informal activities than in the formal.

to formal group activities, the informal group activities have a wider and stronger appeal to all nationality groups.[14]

Table 9 analyzes the membership of the formal organizations of the town by number and nationality. From the percentage

TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATION, BY NATIONALITY OF MEMBERSHIP

| Organization | American | | Pole | | German | | Jew | | All Other | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | |
| High School | 22 | 41 | 9 | 17 | 2 | 4 | 15 | 28 | 6 | 10 | 54 | 4 | |
| Grade Schools | 61 | 25 | 81 | 33 | 10 | 4 | 87 | 35 | 8 | 3 | 247 | 17 | |
| Dancing Schools | 48 | 87 | 2 | 4 | .. | .. | 3 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 55 | 4 | |
| Athletics | 43 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 43 | 3 | |
| American Men | 65 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 65 | 4 | |
| Community Clubs | 45 | 96 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | 4 | 47 | 3 | |
| Grange | 107 | 94 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 6 | 114 | 8 | |
| D. A. R. | 26 | 100 | | | | | | | | | 26 | 2 | |
| Get-together | 10 | 77 | .. | .. | 1 | 8 | .. | .. | 2 | 15 | 13 | 1 | |
| League of Jewish Women | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 21 | 100 | .. | .. | 21 | 1 | |
| Economic | 98 | 85 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 115 | 8 | |
| Baptist Church* | 109 | 97 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 3 | 112 | 8 | |
| Center Congreg. Church* | 184 | 98 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 2 | 187 | 13 | |
| Liberty Hill Congreg. Church* | 158 | 82 | 4 | 2 | 12 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 16 | 8 | 194 | 13 | 45 |
| Goshen Hill Congreg. Church* | 118 | 83 | 14 | 10 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 7 | 142 | 9 | |
| Synagogue | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 30 | 100 | .. | .. | 30 | 2 | |
| Total | 1,094 | 74 | 112 | 8 | 26 | 2 | 167 | 11 | 66 | 5 | 1,465 | 100 | |

* Church includes all subsidiary organizations within it. Note further that the percentages columns under the various nationality headings contain the percentages of membership in the various organizations furnished by each nationality. For example, 41 per cent of the high school enrollment is American, 17 per cent Polish, 4 per cent German, 28 per cent Jewish, etc. The percentages in the column of totals show what part of the entire organizational membership of the town is furnished by a given organization. Thus the high school enrollment is 4 per cent of the entire organizational membership of the town, the graded school enrollment 17 per cent, etc.

data in the column of totals, it is interesting to note the relative sizes of these groups. For instance, it is seen that the churches and their subsidiary organizations comprise 45 per cent of the organizational membership of the town. Like Table 8-B, this table shows a strong nationality variant in the membership of these organizations. With the exception of the public schools and the League of

[14] In the case of out-of-town organizations and religious organizations recorded in this table, there is a certain amount of overlapping, particularly with the foreigners. It is known that most of the foreigners go out of town to church.

Jewish Women, and with a slight exception of the Goshen and the Liberty Hill Congregational churches and one or two economic organizations, the foreigners do not have a membership participation in the formal organizations of the town. Thus, while the native stock constitutes half of the population of the town, it comprises 74 per cent of the organizational membership of the town. Or, to summarize the percentage columns of Tables 8-B and 8-C, the average household representations, by percentage, in the membership participation of all the primary groups of the town are: the Americans, 42 per cent; the Poles, 29; the Germans, 29; the Jews, 25; all others, 32; average for the town, 35.

*Group Attendance Participation.*—Primary group attendance is the other form of social participation recognized as important in this study. Measured in individual-hours, the formal organizational attendance of the 144 households surveyed is presented in Table 10, which shows not only the total hours of attendance in each group of organizations in the town, but also the attendance-interest, by per cent, exhibited by each nationality in such group activity.

The outstanding facts presented by Table 10 are:

1. The athletic and recreational organizations, above all others, have the best percentage index of attendance.[15] Arranged in descending sequence, the zeal of attendance-participation in the various groups of organizations is shown by the attendance indices to be as follows: athletic and recreational, 99; the high school, 88; fraternal, 67; civic, 65; socio-religious, 64; religious worship, 56; and economic, 55.[16]
2. Measured by percentage of attendance, the socio-religious organizations of the churches, such as the Sunday school, the Ladies' Aid, the Christian Endeavor, etc., receive a better attendance response from their membership than does the worship phase of church work. In gross hours of attendance, religious worship shows up favorably, regardless of the nationality of the membership. In this respect church attendance is excelled only by high school attendance. The discrepancy

[15] The per cent index of attendance of the various memberships is secured by dividing the total hours attended by the total hours possible to attend.

[16] Of all the organizations of any considerable size in these groups, the dancing school, conducted during the winter evenings at the high school building, made the best attendance record. Its attendance was perfect. The spray ring, composed of a small number of men and having but a single annual business meeting, was the only organization having an equally good record.

## TABLE 10

### Formal Primary Group Attendance-Participation

(144 households) *

| Households Surveyed (Nationality) | Individual-Hours of Participation per Group of Voluntary Organizations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Religious Worship | | | Socio-Religious | | | Civic | | | Athletics and Recreational | | | High School | | | Fraternal | | | Economic | | |
| | No. of Members Enrolled | Total Hours Attendance | Per Cent Attendance | No. of Members Enrolled | Total Hours Attendance | Per Cent Attendance | No. of Members Enrolled | Total Hours Attendance | Per Cent Attendance | No. of Members Enrolled | Total Hours Attendance | Per Cent Attendance | No. of Members Enrolled | Total Hours Attendance | Per Cent Attendance | No. of Members Enrolled | Total Hours Attendance | Per Cent Attendance | No. of Members Enrolled | Total Hours Attendance | Per Cent Attendance |
| American | 90 | 5,853 | 68 | 99 | 4,114 | 56 | 56 | 1,959 | 67 | 43 | 1,394 | 99 | 22 | 19,120 | 93 | 96 | 3,204 | 66 | 14 | 54 | 76 |
| Pole | 44 | 1,849 | 44 | 4 | 96 | 50 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 32 | 100 | 9 | 6,565 | 79 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 25 |
| German | 24 | 1,030 | 47 | 13 | 408 | 65 | 2 | 2 | 10 | .. | .. | .. | 2 | 1,740 | 94 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Jew | 35 | 1,606 | 42 | .. | .. | .. | 33 | 742 | 64 | 3 | 96 | 100 | 15 | 13,875 | 82 | 3 | 159 | 82 | .. | .. | .. |
| All Others | 22 | 1,527 | 72 | 31 | 1,146 | 76 | 11 | 218 | 67 | .. | .. | .. | 6 | 5,550 | 94 | 5 | 269 | 91 | 10 | 48 | 52 |
| Total | 215 | 11,865 | 56 | 147 | 5,764 | 64 | 102 | 2,921 | 65 | 47 | 1,522 | 99 | 54 | 46,850 | 88 | 106 | 3,638 | 67 | 29 | 110 | 55 |

* The percentage data of this table were computed on the attendance-participation only of active members, i.e., those who attended one or more times during the year.

between the large number of hours of attendance at religious worship and a rather unfavorable percentage of attendance indicates that while many people are church members, their attendance, on the whole, is rather poor.

3. Outside of religious, socio-religious, and civic activities and high school attendance, whether computed by the number of members enrolled or by gross hours of attendance, the foreigners, on the whole, have made a poor showing, or no showing at all. However, the percentage of attendance of the few foreigners who do participate compares favorably with that of the Americans.

Having noted quantitatively the amount of time devoted by the households surveyed to formal group activities, let us note in similar manner the amount of time spent by them in the informal group activities of the town. Table 11 presents a measure of this in total individual-hours of attendance per nationality and in average individual-hours of attendance per household.[17] These data indicate that business trips and visiting neighbors are important activities among all the groups, particularly the foreigners; and that attending holiday events, moving pictures, and agricultural fairs are activities more important among the Americans than other nationalities, with one minor exception. However, the data of this table become more significant when studied in connection with total group participation.

In making a comparison of total formal and total informal group attendance-participation, some of the most interesting facts of this study are found. Table 12 summarizes these data in total hours of participation per nationality, in average hours of participation per nationality, and in indices of participation.[18] Figure II presents the data graphically. It is to be noted, for instance, that all nationality groups spend much more time in the informal than in the formal group activities, the ratio for the average household being: Americans, 2; Poles, 1.4; Germans, 4.5; Jews, 2.1; all others, 2; average for the town 2. It may be pointed out further that while the Germans have made the lowest attendance record in the formal group activities, they have likewise made the highest in the informal

[17] These averages are gross averages, i.e., total individual hours of attendance per nationality divided by the number of households surveyed in each nationality, rather than by the number actually participating.

[18] These are comparative indices computed by dividing the average individual-hours of primary group attendance of the American households into that of the other nationalities.

## TABLE 11

### Informal Primary Group Attendance-Participation

(144 households)

| Households Surveyed | | Individual-Hours of Participation * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Holiday Events | | Regular Vacations | | Agricultural Fairs | | Moving Pictures | | Business and Other Trips | | At-Home Sociables | | Visiting Neighbors | | Grand Total | |
| Nationality | No. | Total | Av. | Total | Av. | Total | Av. | Total | Av. | Total | Av. | Total | Av. | Total | Av. | Total | Av. |
| American | 70 | 7,892 | 113 | 9,092 | 130 | 2,117 | 30 | 8,939 | 128 | 17,017 | 243 | 2,824 | 40 | 25,254 | 361 | 73,135 | 1,045 |
| Pole | 14 | 663 | 47 | 288 | 21 | 69 | 5 | 414 | 30 | 4,349 | 311 | 374 | 27 | 6,152 | 439 | 12,308 | 879 |
| German | 10 | 217 | 22 | 896 | 90 | 132 | 13 | 240 | 24 | 4,658 | 466 | 539 | 54 | 7,705 | 770 | 14,387 | 1,439 |
| Jew | 37 | 2,341 | 63 | 3,422 | 92 | 112 | 3 | 4,050 | 109 | 11,846 | 320 | 1,509 | 41 | 11,403 | 308 | 34,683 | 937 |
| All Others | 13 | 363 | 28 | 672 | 52 | 242 | 19 | 1,764 | 136 | 6,871 | 529 | 4,045 | 311 | 3,021 | 232 | 16,978 | 1,306 |
| Grand Total | 144 | 11,476 | 80 | 14,370 | 100 | 2,672 | 19 | 15,407 | 107 | 44,741 | 311 | 9,291 | 65 | 53,535 | 372 | 151,491 | 1,052 |

* All amounts have been stated in nearest whole numbers.

group activities—in fact, scrutiny of the indices columns of this table shows, in the case of the Poles and the Germans, and to a slight extent in the case of the Jews, that a low index of attendance in one group of activities is compensated somewhat by a high index

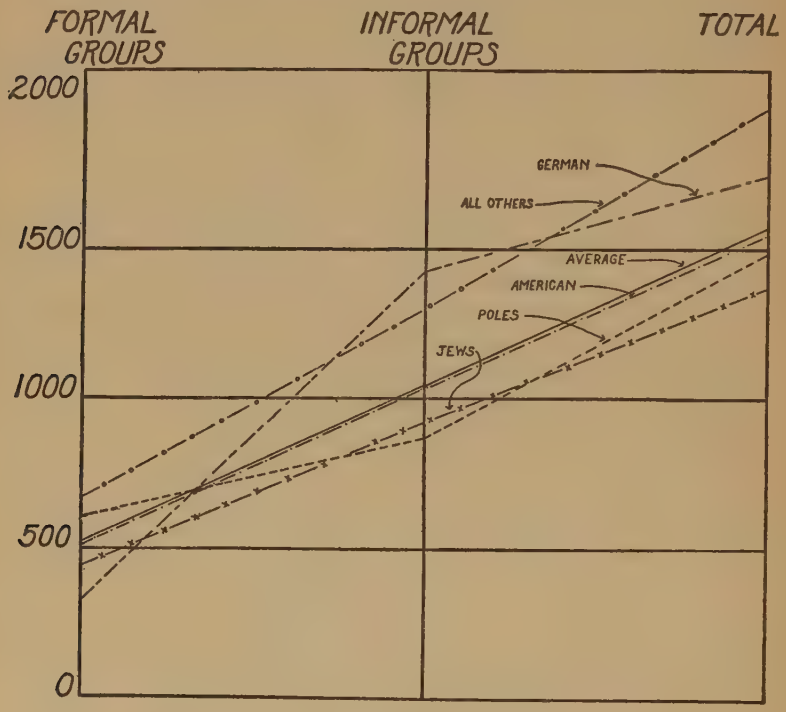



FIGURE II

PRIMARY GROUP ATTENDANCE-PARTICIPATION

Average individual hours per household—144 households

of attendance in the other group of activities. From computations of the data of this table, it may be of interest to note further that the average household, consisting of 4.6 persons, spends 3.9 per cent of its entire time for the year in those local voluntary primary group activities that lie beyond the household groups; or, to exclude high school attendance, 3 per cent of the average household's time is spent in those voluntary primary group activities that lie beyond its own fireside.

## TABLE 12

### Total Primary Group Attendance-Participation

(A summary of Tables 10 and 11)

| Households Surveyed | | Total Individual-Hours of Participation * | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Formal Groups | | | Informal Groups | | | Grand Total | | |
| Nationality | Number | Total | Average per Household | Index of Participation | Total | Average per Household | Index of Participation | Total | Average per Household | Index of Participation |
| American | 70 | 35,698 | 507 | 100 | 73,135 | 1,044 | 100 | 108,833 | 1,555 | 100 |
| Pole | 14 | 8,556 | 611 | 121 | 12,308 | 879 | 84 | 20,864 | 1,490 | 96 |
| German | 10 | 3,180 | 318 | 63 | 14,387 | 1,439 | 138 | 17,567 | 1,757 | 113 |
| Jew | 37 | 16,478 | 445 | 88 | 34,683 | 937 | 90 | 51,161 | 1,383 | 89 |
| All Others | 13 | 8,758 | 674 | 133 | 16,978 | 1,306 | 125 | 25,736 | 1,980 | 127 |
| Grand Total | 144 | 72,670 | 526 | 104 | 151,491 | 1,052 | 101 | 224,161 | 1,578 | 101 |

* All amounts have been stated in the nearest whole numbers.

Note: In all cases, whether computed in totals or in averages, the households of this town spend more time in the informal group activities than in the formal.

Thus, in summarizing the more important findings of this chapter, we may state briefly:

1. Notwithstanding the imposing array of socio-economic service agencies in this town, it is by no means self-sufficient. In fact, this town is so dependent upon outside sources for its socio-economic service that no well-defined rural community could be found within it.
2. As to membership participation in the voluntary primary group activities of the town, the Americans exceed all other nationalities in the number and in the variety of organizations adhered to by the average household. The average percentage of household adherence to these groups is: Americans, 42; Poles, 29; Germans, 29; Jews, 25; all others, 32; average for the town, 35. There is to be noted also a nationality variant in the membership of the groups of the town, which, outside the public schools, is marked by a small amount of participation, or no participation, of the native and the foreign elements of the population in the same group activities. There is to be noted, further, the importance of the church in the membership participation of these groups. The church and its subsidiary organizations comprise 45 per cent of the entire formal primary group membership of the town.
3. The record of time spent in the primary group life of this town shows that in terms of percentage of attendance, the athletic and recreational activities exhibit the best participational zeal, and the economic activities the poorest. As to the relative amount of time spent in formal and informal primary group activities, the informal, for all nationality groups, is the greater, being for the Americans, 2, the Poles 1.4, the Germans 4.5, the Jews 2.1, and all others 2 times as great as the amount of time spent in formal group activities. Lastly, it is computed that the average household of this town spends 3.9 per cent of its entire time of the year in those voluntary primary group activities that lie beyond its own fireside.

# CHAPTER III

## SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION

Thus far, membership and attendance, as forms of participation in the primary group life of this town, have been presented with but incidental reference to those social factors that broadly shape such participation and that give significance to it in certain tasks of programization.[1] In order to gain a better grasp of the subject, let us investigate it further in the light of its broader sociological setting.

### NATIONALITY[2]

How do differences in nationality influence social participation in this town? It has been shown already that with the exception of the high school, membership in the voluntary organizations of this town is fairly rigidly differentiated along nationality lines,[3] and it has been found further that 99.2 per cent of the summer boarders are of the same nationality as the landlord. From the data of Table 13 we find the same tendency in the leadership of the various social activities, in so far as holding office expresses it. It is shown here that of the 144 different offices in the town, 11, or slightly less than 8 per cent, are held by foreigners. However, it is a question whether these 11 offices held by foreigners can be regarded as an entering wedge toward breaking down social distinction along nationality lines, for with but two exceptions, those filling these offices are presiding over groups that are either altogether of their own nationality or practically so. Thus the officers of the League of Jewish Women are Jewish; so are the teachers in three of the public schools whose student body in one case is 100 per cent Jewish, and in other cases has but a negligible percentage of Americans. The remaining five offices are

[1] For a presentation of several classifications of social forces by different sociologists, see Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 284–88.

[2] The psychological significance of nationality as a determinant of social participation must not be overlooked, even if not discussed at length here. See Giddings' discussion of "Consciousness of Kind," *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 17–20, and also the recognition of psychology in the classifications of social forces referred to in Blackmar and Gillin above.

[3] See Table 9.

held by two persons who have been in this country so long that they are generally regarded as Americans, and one of these, being a minister of the gospel, confines office holding to church affairs. Thus, in reality, putting aside the elementary schools whose attendance comes under the provisions of the compulsory attendance law, the high school is practically the only organization whose

TABLE 13

NATIONALITY DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICES IN LEBANON
1924

| Organization | Offices | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Total No. | No. held by | |
| | | Foreigners | Americans |
| High School Teachers | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Elementary Teachers | 11 | 3 | 8 |
| American Men | 4 | .. | 4 |
| Community Club | 2 | .. | 2 |
| League of Jewish Women | 3 | 3 | .. |
| Grange | 6 | .. | 6 |
| D. A. R. | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Get-together | 2 | .. | 2 |
| Lebanon Creamery | 4 | .. | 4 |
| Spray Ring | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Lebanon Coöp. Grain Ass'n | 4 | .. | 4 |
| Chestnut Hill Coöp. Grain Ass'n | 4 | .. | 4 |
| Goshen Gun Club | 2 | .. | 2 |
| Basket-ball Club | 2 | .. | 2 |
| Baseball Club | 2 | .. | 2 |
| Town Government | 41 | 1 | 40 |
| Baptist — Church | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Baptist — Ladies' Aid | 2 | .. | 2 |
| Baptist — Y. P. C. E. S. | 4 | .. | 4 |
| Baptist — Sunday School | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Center Congregational — Church | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Center Congregational — Ladies' Aid | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Center Congregational — Y. P. C. E. S. | 4 | .. | 4 |
| Center Congregational — Sunday School | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Goshen Congregational — Church | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Goshen Congregational — Ladies' Aid | 2 | .. | 2 |
| Goshen Congregational — Missionary Society | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Goshen Congregational — Sunday School | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Goshen Congregational — Y. P. C. E. S. | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Liberty Congregational — Church | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Liberty Congregational — Sunday School | 2 | .. | 2 |
| Liberty Congregational — Ladies' Aid | 2 | .. | 2 |
| Total | 144 | 11 | 133 |

attendance is voluntary in which Americans and foreigners participate freely; and leaving aside the two officials, who to all intents and purposes might ordinarily be classified as Americans, we see that the offices of the town are all in the hands of Americans, with the exception herewith noted.

### PARTICIPATION RECIPROCITY

What relation does participation in one type of activity bear to participation in other types? And how may such mutuality or reciprocity of relationships as may exist, be measured? Table 14 answers both questions. By means of the Pearson coefficient of correlation the participation interest of families in one type of voluntary social activity is compared with their participation interest in other types on the basis of attendance indices computed in individual-hours of participation.[4] The data of this most interesting table not only indicate the relationship of one type of social participation to another, but also by the comparison of each type to the grand total, a constant factor, show the relative value of each. It is to be noted further that the relationships of the various items of this table are positive, except in the case of civic clubs and total informal activities; here the relationship is − .229, which indicates a mutual antagonism of participation in these activities. The relationship of some types of activities to others, however, is fairly slight, but between the following there is from medium to high correlation:[5]

| | |
|---|---|
| Town Meetings and Fraternal Orders | .938 |
| Town Meetings and Athletic and Recreational | .924 |
| Town Meetings and Economic | .905 |
| Town Meetings and Church | .872 |
| Town Meetings and Civic | .870 |
| Town Meetings and Neighborhood Visiting | .870 |
| Fraternal and Economic Group Participation | .643 |
| Fraternal and Recreational Group Participation | .633 |
| Fraternal and Outside-of-Lebanon Group Participation | .598 |
| Fraternal and Total Formal Group Participation | .501 |
| Religious and Total Formal Group Participation | .557 |
| Economic and Civic Group Participation | .643 |

[4] For an explanation of the derivation of these indices see Chapter I. For an explanation of the Pearson coefficient of correlation, see Starch, *Experiments in Educational Psychology*, Chapter IV.

[5] For the significance of the terms *high correlation, low correlation*, etc., see Rugg, Harold O., *Statistical Methods Applied to Education*, p. 256.

Economic and Recreational Group Participation . . . . . .739
Economic and Outside-of-Lebanon Group Participation . . . . . .751
Civic Clubs and Outside-of-Lebanon Group Participation . . . . .571
Athletic and Outside-of-Lebanon Group Participation . . . . . .641
Outside-of-Lebanon Group Activities and Grand Total . . . . . .503
Total Informal Group Activities and Grand Total . . . . . .899
Total Formal Group Activities and Grand Total . . . . . .590

Likewise, noting the relative statistical values of the various types of group activity in the associational life of this town, by checking each against the grand total, it is seen that they take the following decreasing sequence:

Participation in Town Meetings . . . . . .903
Participation in Total Informal Group Activity . . . . . .899
Participation in Total Formal Group Activity . . . . . .590
Participation in Group Activities outside of Lebanon . . . . . .503
Participation in Fraternal Group Activity . . . . . .478
Participation in Religious Group Activity . . . . . .465
Participation in Neighborhood Visiting . . . . . .454
Participation in Recreational Group Activity . . . . . .454
Participation in Economic Group Activity . . . . . .441
Participation in Civic Clubs . . . . . .245

Thus, in way of an interpretative summary of Table 14, we may say that, in general, those who engage a great deal in visiting neighbors participate relatively little in the activities of civic clubs, and in organized athletics and recreation; those who attend church regularly are less zealous in their participation in fraternal orders, civic clubs, visiting neighbors, organized athletics and recreation; and those who are very active in the town meeting exhibit also a strong participational interest in all other kinds of group activities, both formal and informal.

### AGE AND SEX FACTORS

What influence have age and sex upon participation in the voluntary organizational life of this town? Table 15 presents the answer.[6]

It will be noted that religious worship and socio-religious participation are the only activities receiving an attendance response

[6] The participation index of each age and sex group was derived by dividing the per cent of the total hours of participation in a given activity performed by a given group, by the percentage this group is of the entire population surveyed (144 families).

TIME CORRELATIONS IN PRIMARY GROUP ATTENDANCE *

| | Church Attendance | Fraternal Orders | Economic Organizations | Civic Clubs | Neighborhood Visiting | Athletic and Recreational Organizations | Town Meetings | Activities Outside Lebanon | Total Formal Activities | Total Informal Activities |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Church Attendance | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fraternal Orders | .292 ± .051 | | | | | | | | | |
| Economic Organizations | .479 ± .043 | .643 ± .033 | | | | | | | | |
| Civic Clubs | .201 ± .054 | .260 ± .035 | .609 ± .035 | | | | | | | |
| Neighborhood Visiting | .171 ± .054 | .318 ± .050 | .407 ± .046 | .155 ± .001 | | | | | | |
| Athletic and Recreational Organizations | .332 ± .050 | .633 ± .033 | .739 ± .025 | .453 ± .044 | .320 ± .050 | | | | | |
| Town Meetings | .872 ± .013 | .938 ± .006 | .905 ± .009 | .870 ± .013 | .870 ± .013 | .924 ± .008 | | | | |
| Activities Outside Lebanon | .261 ± .051 | .598 ± .036 | .751 ± .024 | .571 ± .038 | .294 ± .051 | .641 ± .033 | .914 ± .008 | | | |
| Total Formal Activities | .557 ± .039 | .501 ± .047 | .427 ± .046 | .431 ± .046 | .195 ± .054 | .412 ± .046 | .907 ± .009 | .405 ± .046 | | |
| Total Informal Activities | .297 ± .051 | .352 ± .047 | .373 ± .048 | −.229 ± .050 | .378 ± .048 | .326 ± .050 | .874 ± .013 | .333 ± .049 | .314 ± .050 | |
| Grand Total Activities | .465 ± .044 | .478 ± .043 | .441 ± .045 | .245 ± .052 | .454 ± .044 | .454 ± .039 | .903 ± .010 | .503 ± .042 | .590 ± .036 | .899 ± .011 |

Note: Church attendance has from a medium to low correlation with all other group attendance except town meetings, and town meeting attendance has a high correlation with all other group attendance.

* Computed by use of the Pearson coefficient of correlation and family-participation indices.

## TABLE 15

### Primary Group Participation—Age and Sex Factors

(Measured by hours of participation—144 households)

| Age Groups | Sex | Per Cent of Population | Relative Amount of Attendance-Participation Performed by Each Age and Sex Group | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Religious Worship (The Churches) | | Socio-Religious Organizations | | High School | | Fraternal Orders | | Economic Organizations | | Civic Organizations | | Athletic and Recreational Organizations | |
| | | | Per Cent | Index | Per Cent | Index | Per Cent | Index | Per Cent | Index | Per Cent | Index | Per Cent | Index | Per Cent | Index |
| Below 7 | | 13 | 4.3 | 33 | 7.7 | 59 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7–14 | M | 11 | 3.8 | 35 | 15.7 | 143 | 9.9 | 90 | | | | | | | | |
| | F | 12 | 7.9 | 66 | 12.6 | 105 | 22.7 | 189 | | | | | | | 6.3 | 52 |
| 15–20 | M | 6 | 5.9 | 98 | 8.5 | 142 | 31.2 | 520 | 18.9 | 315 | | | 5.0 | 83 | 32.3 | 538 |
| | F | 7 | 7.6 | 109 | 7.8 | 111 | 36.2 | 517 | 4.7 | 67 | | | | | 27.3 | 390 |
| 21–44 | M | 15 | 12.7 | 85 | 2.7 | 18 | | | 33.3 | 222 | 41.8 | 279 | 12.5 | 83 | 28.5 | 190 |
| | F | 15 | 18.1 | 121 | 13.8 | 92 | | | 6.7 | 45 | 1.8 | 12 | 35.7 | 238 | 2.1 | 14 |
| 45–60 | M | 9 | 15.1 | 168 | 6.8 | 76 | | | 23.8 | 264 | 31.0 | 344 | 21.7 | 241 | 3.5 | 39 |
| | F | 7 | 15.4 | 220 | 18.3 | 261 | | | 8.4 | 120 | 10.9 | 156 | 22.4 | 320 | | |
| Above 60 | M | 3 | 6.5 | 217 | 4.2 | 140 | | | 4.2 | 140 | 14.5 | 483 | 2.7 | 90 | | |
| | F | 2 | 2.7 | 135 | 1.9 | 95 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | | 100 | 100 | | 100 | | 100 | | 100 | | 100 | | 100 | | 100 | |

Note: This table should read, for example, thus: 4.3 per cent of all the time, during the space of a year, spent by the people of this town attending religious worship, is chargeable to the age group below 7; 3.8 per cent to the boys of the age group 7 to 14, etc. The zeal of attendance is measured relatively by the indices of attendance. Thus, under the heading "Religious Worship" the children below 7 years of age have an attendance index of 33; the boys 7 to 14, an attendance index of 35, etc. The relative attendance zeal shown to the organizations of this town by their membership is found in the totals of the percentage columns of Table 10.

from all age and sex groups. All the other types of group participation, as shown by the open spaces in the table, and by the attendance indices, have a pronounced age variant, and usually an equally pronounced sex variant. For example, the age groups 45 to 60 and above 60 show a greater attendance interest in religious worship than do any other age groups; and on the whole, these two groups show as much attendance interest in the socio-religious group participation as do any other age groups. The latter probably is due to the fact that the older people here participate actively in such socio-religious organizations as the Ladies' Aid, the Christian Endeavor, and the Sunday School.

The presence of a sex variant in the organizational activities of the town is also very evident. An obvious example of the non-participation of certain sex groups is that of the women of age group above 60 who abstain from all organizational attendance except that connected with church work. The men of this age group show not only higher participation indices in church worship and socio-religious activities, but also a participation record in three other types of group activity not engaged in by the women of this group. Furthermore, leaving out of consideration the age groups below 7 and above 60, the men, as a rule, participate more than the women in such types of social activity as are provided by fraternal orders, economic organizations, athletic and recreational organizations; but the same cannot be said in the case of civic clubs, the high school, religious worship, and socio-religious participation, for in these activities, with but few exceptions, the women uniformly excel the men. For example, of the total time devoted by these age groups to attendance at religious worship, 47.5 per cent was spent by the men, and 49 per cent by the women; of the total hours devoted to attendance at socio-religious meetings, 33.7 per cent was spent by the men and 52.5 per cent by the women. These data, as evidence, lead to the conclusion that age and sex are factors of considerable importance in determining the social participation of the people of this town in its organizational life.

### MORTGAGES AND TENURE

What relationship do mortgages and tenure bear to social participation? The data of Table 16, based upon hours of participation and computed by the Pearson coefficient of correlation,

present the answer.[7] According to these findings, tenure in years and mortgages in dollars, when checked against the total hours of informal group activities, total hours of formal group activities, and the grand total of hours in the activities of the primary group life of the town, show a very low positive correlation. With the exception of the relationship of mortgages to total time spent in formal group activities and in grand total group activities, in

TABLE 16

MORTGAGES AND TENURE IN RELATION TO GROUP ATTENDANCE

(Computed by the Pearson coefficient of correlation)

| | Total Informal Activities (Hours) | Total Formal Activities (Hours) | Grand Total Activities (Hours) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mortgages, in Dollars..... | .100 ±.055 | .326 ±.006 | .215 ±.002 |
| Tenure, in Years..... | .009 ±.053 | .172 ±.002 | .041 ±.055 |

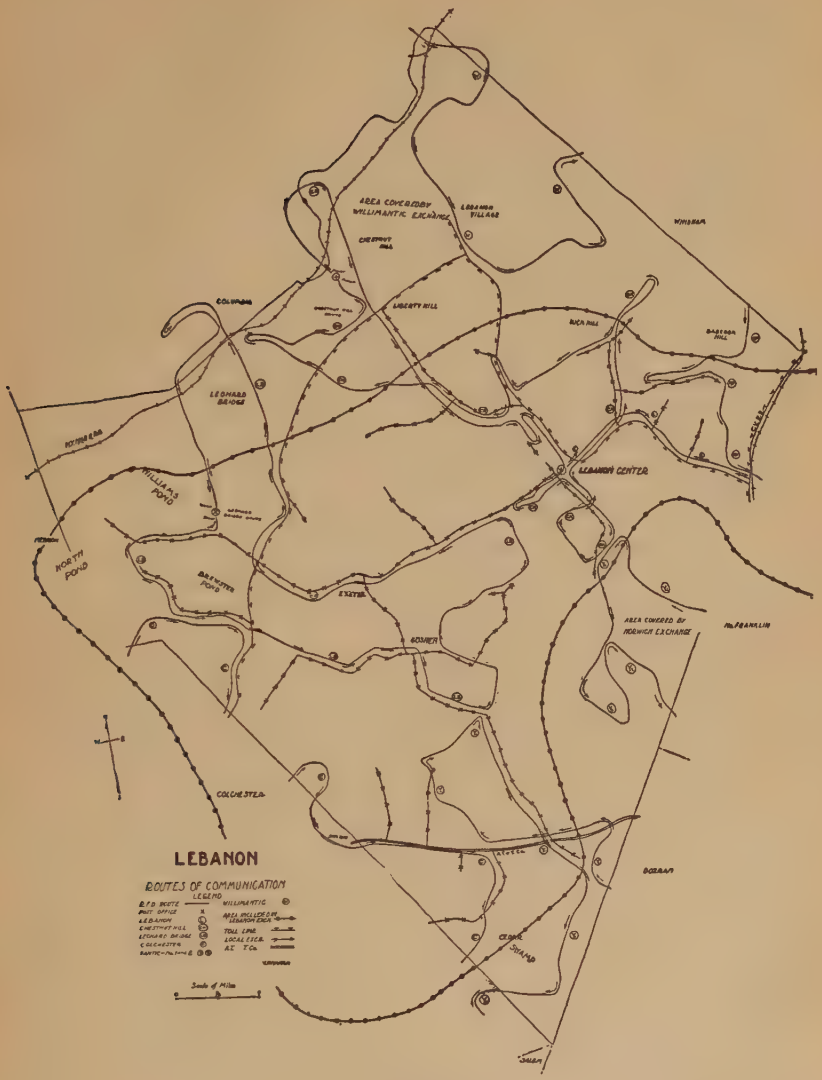
which cases there are low correlations, though large enough, perhaps, to be counted significant, the correlations are practically zero.[8] It is perhaps safe to conclude, then, that under the conditions afforded by present-day Lebanon, tenure and mortgages play but a minor rôle as factors directly influencing social participation.

## MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

What influence, if any, do the different means of communication have upon social participation here? It will be noted from a study of Map III, that Lebanon, on the whole, is well supplied with the usual means of communication. Her most important

[7] In preparing the ranks for these computations, the family residing the greatest number of years in this town was given rank 1, the family living here the next greatest number of years rank 2, etc.; likewise the sixty-two families having no mortgages were given rank 31½ [(n—1)÷2], and by a progressive sequence, the family having the largest mortgage was given the last rank—the rank of 144.

[8] In the other cases it is to be noted that the probable error is relatively great, which places the reliability of these measures somewhat in doubt. Also, since these findings are somewhat at variance with the commonly accepted belief as to the influence of these two factors upon social participation, further investigation at this point seems desirable.




MAP III

ROUTES OF COMMUNICATION

deficiency in this respect probably is a lack of improved highways, though the highways, such as they are, make possible a fairly close network of seven R. F. D. routes which place the mail service at the convenience of practically every household in the town. The New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railway traces the northwest border of the town, with stations at Leonard's Bridge and Chestnut Hill, and the Central Vermont Railway touches the eastern section of the town, with a stop at Lebanon Station. Owing to a combination of various factors, the railway service to this town is being reduced, the station at Leonard's Bridge being open only for the summer months, mostly for the shipment of cordwood, railway ties, and lumber.[9] Map III also shows that the telephone service of this town is rather extensive. This service includes that of the local exchange, the toll line, and the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, and while only 26 per cent of the households have telephones, practically all are within fairly easy access to telephone service.[10] The automobile as a means of communication also is fairly important in Lebanon. The distribution of automobiles among the households, by percentage, is: Americans, 57; Poles, 21; Germans, 20; Jews, 24; all others, 46; total, 41. To state it differently, about two-fifths of the households of Lebanon have automobiles.

Since the automobile, the improved road, and the telephone are the most expeditious methods of communication available at present within the town, how does each influence primary group participation here? For the of average hours of participation per household, the reader is referred to Table 17 and Figure III for the answer. It will be noted, first, that the American households are practically the only ones which are situated upon improved roads and possess most of the automobiles and telephones; second, it will be noted that the different nationality elements of the population of this town do not respond uniformly to the different means of communication. For instance, the data seem to indicate that the American households having telephones participate more in the local social affairs than those American households not having telephones, while the reverse seems to be true in regard to the possession of automobiles. As to the foreign households,

[9] Information given by a letter from the office of the Superintendent, New Haven, Connecticut.

[10] See Table 5–B.

## TABLE 17

### Effect of Different Means of Communication upon Primary Group Attendance

(Stated in differences of average hours of participation of households having vs. those not having specified means of communication)*

| Nationality | Combination of Means | | | | One Regardless of Other Means | | | Only the One Means | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Automobile, Telephone, Improved Road | Automobile, Telephone | Automobile, Improved Road | Telephone, Improved Road | Automobile | Telephone | Improved Road | Automobile | Telephone | Improved Road |
| American | +450 | −272 | −553 | +474 | −89 | +372 | +92 | −147 | +520 | −358 |
| Pole | 0 | +604 | 0 | 0 | +312 | +3034 | −1088 | +177 | −1036 | −1081 |
| German | 0 | −1248 | 0 | 0 | −2677 | −478 | 0 | −893 | −729 | 0 |
| Jew | 0 | −602 | 0 | 0 | +32 | +436 | 0 | +205 | −308 | 0 |
| All Others | 0 | +180 | 0 | 0 | +182 | −171 | 0 | 0 | −1218 | 0 |
| Total Average | −602 | −115 | −607 | −605 | −3 | +174 | −228 | −6 | −22 | −593 |

* The plus sign indicates the difference is to the advantage of a given means of communication noted, and a minus sign indicates the difference is to its disadvantage. For example, the line of totals, with but one exception, indicates that those households having a given means of communication, or combination of means, participate fewer hours in the primary group activities of the town than those households not having such means of communication.

those having telephones seem to participate less in the face-to-face social affairs of the town than those foreign households not having telephones; while in the case of the automobile, those Polish and Jewish households having this means of transportation participate more in the primary group activities of the town than those not having it. However, a careful scrutiny of Figure IV and the totals of Table 17 will lead one to conclude, with a fair degree of certainty, that, in general, those having automobiles participate less in the

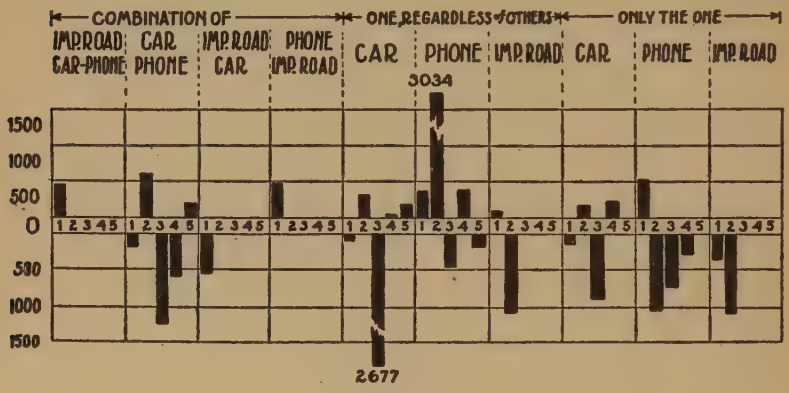



FIGURE III

DIFFERENCES IN AVERAGE OF TOTAL HOURS OF PARTICIPATION BETWEEN THOSE HOUSEHOLDS HAVING AND THOSE NOT HAVING SPECIFIED METHODS OF COMMUNICATION

Position above 0 means the difference was positive; below 0, negative.

1 = American; 2 = Pole; 3 = German; 4 = Jew; 5 = All Others

primary group activities of this town than those not having automobiles, particularly when automobiles are combined with improved roads. Although the same generalization with the same degree of certainty can hardly be made of the telephone, it is probable that in the long run those households having this means of communication will tend to participate less in the primary group activities of the town than at present.

In way of brief summary, it may be observed that primary group participation and nonparticipation are the resultants of many determinative factors making up a complex socio-psychical situation. The examination of five of these factors, as they apply

to the primary group membership and attendance of this town leads to the following conclusions:

1. Differences in nationality constitute an important determinant of group membership. This is indicated by the marked nationality variant in the membership and the official leadership of the organizations, and in the nationality homogeneity of the landlords and their summer boarders.
2. The time relationship of attendance in one primary group to attendance in another is shown by the Pearson coefficient of correlation to be positive in practically all cases. For example, the correlation of time spent in town meetings and other group activities is high in all cases, denoting that those who are most active in the town meetings are also usually zealous in all the other primary group activities of the town.
3. Age and sex are factors of great importance in determining the membership eligibility and the attendance participation in the organizational life of the town. This is indicated by the marked age and sex variants recorded in the attendance and the membership of the organizations of the town.
4. Tenure and mortgages, in their direct effect upon the primary group life of the town, seem to be participation determinants of minor importance. Evidence for this conclusion is indicated by the low correlation of tenure and mortgages with time spent in the primary group activities of the town.
5. Improved means of communication, taking the town as a whole, seem to reduce, rather than augment, the time spent in the primary group activities of the town. At least it may be observed that while the data do not admit of clear-cut generalizations in all cases, those having the improved means of communication, with certain exceptions, participate less in the primary group activities of the town than those not having the improved means of communication.

# CHAPTER IV

## GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION

Climate, soil, topography, and position, as geographical factors, have been recognized by the ecologist as important in the processes of distribution, selection, and accommodation among plants and animals. It is probable that the social ecologist can find that human beings, though possessed with intelligence and various means of locomotion and communication, likewise respond to these factors and processes with results comparable to those among the plants and animals. Certain phases of geography rather broadly defined, namely, geographical position, differences in the agricultural quality of land, and season of the year, have been examined in this investigation in relation to their influence upon primary group participation.

### THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

*Historical Achievement.*—Lebanon, having been situated in one of the Thirteen Original Colonies and having had a history of 225 years, offers the research student a fair opportunity to trace social movements in their relation to geographical factors. During the Revolutionary War, its inland location gave it military advantages in that it was out of imminent danger of the forays of the British fleet, yet not so far removed from seaports as to be precluded from shipping activities. Then, too, it was located at the intersection of the post road between Norwich and Hartford and the most direct thoroughfare between New York and Boston. This made it one of the chief centers of communication between the Southern Colonies and New England, and especially for the northern and southern armies during the war.[1] Here frequently met Washington, Governor Trumbull, Lafayette, Count Rochambeau, General Knox, General Putnam, Samuel Adams, John Jay,

[1] Stedman, *Historic Lebanon*, p. 5.

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and "other worthies and patriots, bearing messages of fate and destiny, and taking high council together."[2] It was from here that a systematic network of messengers radiated upon errands of military espionage, and it was here, according to Stedman, that the Council of Safety, the war council of the colony, met over eleven hundred times. If, by the hand of magic, at the time of the Revolution, the 35,000 acres comprising the present town of Lebanon could have been set over into the midst of Texas or Idaho, or even one hundred miles north of its present location, it is probable that most, if not all, of its prominent participation in this war would never have taken place. At best it would have played a minor rôle in this great conflict, and to-day Lebanon likely would not be the proud possessor of such relics of historic significance as the "War Office," the Trumbull Home and the Trumbull Tomb, the Home of William Williams, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the Home of James Clark of Bunker Hill celebrity. And likewise, in terms of more recent times, if this historic old town could be removed by the hand of magic from its nearness to the Atlantic seaboard—New York and other large eastern cities in particular—it is probable that it would not be receiving such a large number of urban summer boarders, nor such an undertow of foreign residents who linger a while in these cities before establishing themselves here in great numbers upon farms.[3] Lastly, as we shall note more fully later, the geographical nearness of Lebanon agriculture to urban industries has placed the two into competition for labor, thereby contributing to the decline of agriculture.

*Distance.*—How does distance, as a phase of the factor of geographical position, affect social participation? We have noted already that of twenty-three service items surveyed, the town is only 30 per cent efficient in supplying itself within its own borders. Much of this out-of-town service, such as dental service, attendance at the moving pictures, marketing, etc., necessitates considerable travel on the part of its beneficiaries, for people from all parts of Lebanon go freely to Willimantic, Hartford, Norwich,

[2] Stedman, *Historic Lebanon*, p. 7. (Quoting from Stuart's *Life of Trumbull.*)

[3] As stated elsewhere in this report, immigrant residents and immigrant summer boarders seem to care little or nothing for the traditions of the town and the numerous historical relics it possesses. No doubt, this accounts partly for the nonparticipation of the native and the foreign elements of the population in certain primary group activities. (See Giddings' discussion of "Consciousness of Kind" and "The Social Mind," *The Principles of Sociology.*)

Colchester, New London, even New York, for these services. It is to be noted also that the dancing school conducted at Lebanon Center during the winter had perfect attendance. Some of the students of this school lived three or four miles away on unimproved roads, but the distance, even traversed at night and during inclement weather, was not too great to affect the attendance. By means of the Pearson coefficient of correlation, distance in quarter miles was correlated to church attendance in individual-hours, the quarter-mile nearest the church being counted as rank 1, the second quarter-mile 2, etc.[4] The correlation was found to be only .197, with a probable error of ±.065, which shows that distance within the limits of the town, has practically nothing to do with a favorable church attendance record. Those who live in sight of the church are about as likely to be nonchurchgoers as those who live farther away. The time was, no doubt, when distance, in terms of the team-haul, narrowly circumscribed the primary group activities of this town; but, within certain limits, it is clear from the present investigation that it is now playing a rôle of diminishing importance.

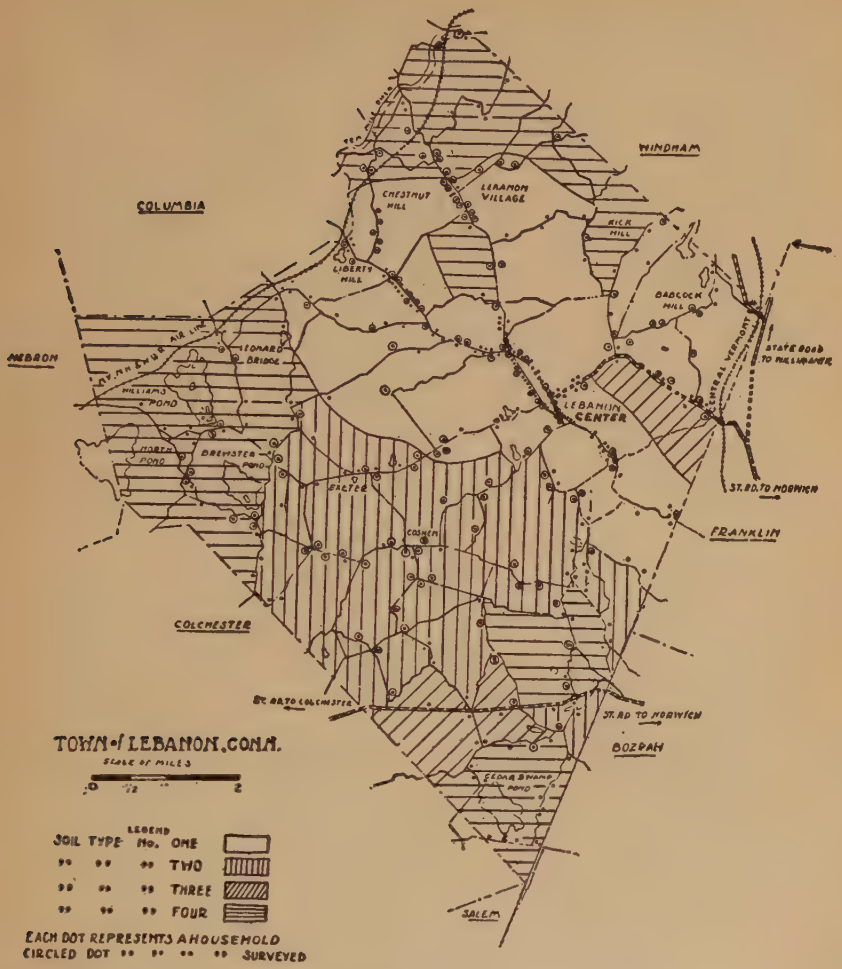
## THE INFLUENCE OF DIFFERENCES IN THE AGRICULTURAL QUALITY OF THE LAND

*Soil-Type and the Movements of the Population.*—How do differences in the agricultural quality of land affect primary group participation? Let us approach the answer to this question somewhat indirectly by noting the effect of soil-type upon the movements of the population. By reference to the accompanying soil map, it will be noted that the first settlement, which was made at Lebanon Center, was made upon the best agricultural soil-type (No. I), and ever since, this soil-type has been more thickly populated than those soil-types shown upon the map to be poorer farm land (soil-types Nos. II, III, and IV).[5]

Soil-type is also integrated with the shift of the residences of the town. Table 18, setting forth in a comparative way the distribution of the residences for the years 1868 and 1924, when checked by the soil map, shows that the decrease in number of

[4] This applies only to church attendance within the town.

[5] This soil map was constructed from the data of the soil survey of the town made by Mr. Morgan. (See Chapter I of this report.)




MAP IV

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY MAJOR SOIL-TYPE GROUPS

SOIL-TYPE No. I—Charlton fine sandy loam with slow underdrainage due to compact substratum; level to rolling (Best).

SOIL-TYPE No. II—Gloucester fine sandy loam, upland till soils moderately free from stone with rather rapid underdrainage; rolling to hilly (Second best).

SOIL-TYPE No. III—Merrimac fine sandy loam, water-laid soils predominant; level to hilly (Third best).

SOIL-TYPE No. IV—Gloucester stony fine sandy loam, stony soils inclined to be largely predominant; contains many lakes and swamps (Poorest).

residences has been greatest in the poorest soil-type.[6] During this period of time the number of residences on soil-type No. I decreased 7 per cent, and on soil-type No. IV, 16 per cent.

TABLE 18

SHIFT IN THE NUMBER OF DWELLING HOUSES IN LEBANON, BY SOIL-TYPES 1868 and 1924

| SOIL-TYPE | NUMBER OF DWELLING HOUSES | | PER CENT DECREASE |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1868 | 1924 | |
| I | 202 | 187 | 7 |
| II | 80 | 74 | 8 |
| III | 15 | 14 | 7 |
| IV | 92 | 77 | 16 |
| Total | 389 | 352 | 10 |

Soil-type is also integrated with the distribution of the population as to nationality. From an analysis of the data given in Table 19 we learn that 65.6 per cent of the foreign households, as compared with 29 per cent of the American households, reside upon the poorer soil-types (Nos. II, III, and IV). In the absence of more definite proof, it is logical to infer from these data that the poorer soil-types made farming unprofitable for the former Yankee owners, who abandoned their farms to the highest bidders, the foreigners. It will be noted also from Table 20 that a large majority of the heads of the present immigrant families of this town were reared on farms in the "old country," and have sojourned for a few years in our great eastern cities, presumably in environments and at occupations in sharp contrast to those of their former peasant agricultural origin. In compliance to the "call of the land" engendered by their early country life experiences, and perhaps because of distorted ideas of land values gained in the great cities, one may surmise why these immigrants should

[6] The data for the year 1868 were obtained from a map of this town made by F. W. Beers and others, and published by James McGuigan Co., Philadelphia. The data for the year 1924 were obtained by an actual count of dwellings by the surveyors in the present study.

Though the percentage decrease in number of dwellings on soil-type III is the same as that on soil-type I, the number of dwellings on soil-type III is so few that perhaps the records of this soil-type should be combined with the records of either soil-type II or soil-type IV.

## TABLE 19

### Distribution of Households by Nationality and Soil-types
1924

| Soil-Type | American | | | Pole | | | German | | | Jew | | | All Others | | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total in Town | No. Surveyed | Per Cent Surveyed | Total in Town | No. Surveyed | Per Cent Surveyed | Total in Town | No. Surveyed | Per Cent Surveyed | Total in Town | No. Surveyed | Per Cent Surveyed | Total in Town | No. Surveyed | Per Cent Surveyed | In Town | No. Surveyed | Per Cent Surveyed |
| I | 152 | 47 | 31 | 13 | 3 | 23 | 11 | 3 | 27 | 19 | 12 | 63 | 11 | 6 | 54 | 206 | 71 | 34 |
| II | 32 | 16 | 50 | 18 | 7 | 39 | 2 | 2 | 100 | 20 | 12 | 60 | 3 | 2 | 67 | 75 | 39 | 52 |
| III | 6 | 3 | 50 | 3 | 1 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 4 | 31 |
| IV | 26 | 4 | 15 | 11 | 3 | 27 | 6 | 5 | 83 | 31 | 13 | 42 | 5 | 5 | 100 | 79 | 30 | 38 |
| Total | 216 | 70 | 36 | 45 | 14 | 31 | 19 | 10 | 53 | 74 | 37 | 50 | 19 | 13 | 68 | 373 | 144 | 39 |

Partial résumé of this table:

58 per cent of the households are American.
12 per cent of the households are Polish.
5 per cent of the households are German.
20 per cent of the households are Jewish.
5 per cent of the households are all other nationalities.
29 per cent of the American households are on soil-types II, III, IV.
65.6 per cent of the foreign households are on soil-type II, III, IV.
373 is total number households in this town, of which, 144, or 39 per cent, were surveyed.

want this land, even under the burdens of exorbitant prices and heavy mortgages.[7]

The relationship of soil-type to the use of land for recreational purposes is shown in the case of the summer boarders and the hunting clubs. Table 21, in presenting the distribution of summer boarders as to time of the year and soil-type, shows that soil-type No. II supports more of the summer boarder business than all the other soil-types combined. Moreover, analysis of the summer boarders shows that the majority are young mothers and their children in quest of healthful recreation during the warmest part of the summer.[8] For example, out of the total of 488 summer boarders here during the season of 1924, 28 were adult men with a median age of 25 years, 142 were adult women with a median age of 26.5 years, and 318 were children with a median age of 3 years.[9] Furthermore, the larger of two hunting clubs found here, composed of nonresident men, has possession of 6,000 acres in the western part of this town and the town of Columbia, an area including the poorest soil-types of the town and equal in size to about one-sixth of the town. The topography, made varied by the glacial ice sheet, contains many eskers, narrow valleys, stony areas, and lakes. The picturesque wooded areas and lakes which are so abundant upon the poorer agricultural soil-types are valuable assets to the vacationist, be he a huntsman or a summer resident fond of hiking and rowing. Therefore, the geographical factors that make much of the land of this town unprofitable for agriculture under present economic conditions, make it both agreeable aad profitable for recreation.

The differences in the agricultural quality of the land may be observed further in their relationship to mortgages and tenure in this town. Table 22 shows that with the Americans, 74 per cent of the mortgages occur on soil-type I, while with the foreigners, with the exception of soil-type III, the number of mortgages per soil-type is rather uniform, being for soil-type I, 34 per cent; and

[7] An example of the increasing prices paid for this poor farm land under the stimulus of frequent resales is that of a 144-acre farm that, having been sold six times in as many years, climbed from the price of $2,200 to $10,000. Not one of the purchasers has been able to make a living on this farm.

[8] The term "summer boarder" usually implies one who rents a room and kitchen privileges from the landlady, but purchases her own supplies and prepares her own meals.

[9] This analysis includes only the summer boarders residing with the households surveyed, and does not include the patrons of the Grand Lake Hotel (Jewish).

[10] Since but four households were surveyed in soil-type III and since it covers such a small portion of the town, findings relative to it do not seem impressive.

## TABLE 20

### Origin of Present Population

(By heads of households)

| Nationality | Where Born | | | | | | | Moved Here From | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | United States | | | | | Old Country | | Another Farm in | | | City or Village | | |
| | Farm | City | Lebanon | Conn. | Other State | Farm | City | Lebanon | Other State | Old Country | New York | Other in U. S. | Old Country |
| American | 59 | 11 | 37 | 58 | 12 | .. | .. | 1 | 20 | .. | 2 | 10 | .. |
| Pole | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 14 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. |
| German | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | 7 | 2 | .. |
| Jew | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 18 | 19 | .. | .. | .. | 32 | 5 | .. |
| All Others | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | 2 | 10 | 1 |
| Total | 59 | 11 | 37 | 58 | 12 | 50 | 24 | 2 | 20 | 0 | 50 | 34 | 1 |

Partial résumé:

67.5 per cent of the heads of foreign households were born on farms.

59 per cent of the households of the town have moved here from cities, 35 per cent coming from New York City.

0.9 per cent of the households moving into this town came direct from the old country.

for each of soil-types II and IV, 32.1 per cent.[10] It will be noted further that there are in gross numbers more than twice as many mortgages among the foreigners as among the Americans; or, to state it differently, that while 42 per cent of the households of the town are foreign, 67.5 per cent of the mortgages are borne by the

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF SUMMER BOARDERS

(By soil-type and months of the year)

| Nationality of the Landlords | Number of Boarders, by Months on the Farms | | | | | | Individual-Weeks* Soil-Type | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | May | June | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | I | II | III | IV |
| American.... | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 24 | 16 | 0 |
| Pole..... | 0 | 19 | 75 | 82 | 11 | 0 | 30 | 615 | 0 | 0 |
| German..... | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Jew..... | 0 | 67 | 374 | 367 | 0 | 0 | 928 | 1,464 | 0 | 585 |
| All Others... | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total..... | 0 | 89 | 456 | 454 | 12 | 0 | 960 | 2,103 | 16 | 601 |

* Individual-weeks = no. of boarders × no. of weeks each was on vacation.

Note: (1) The summer boarder business is confined chiefly to the Poles and the Jews. (2) Most of this business is in the months of July and August. (3) Soil-type No. II has more of this business than all other soil-types combined.

foreign households. This table shows likewise that, with the exception of soil-type III, the town tax assessors have made a decidedly lower evaluation per acre upon the poorer soil-types. However, based upon the assessed value, the average rate of mortgages per acre is such that the equity of the owners of mortgaged farms, with the exception of soil-type III, is about the same in each soil-type, with an average of 43 per cent for the town as a whole. Thus it appears that soil-type bears no marked relationship to mortgages except in the case of Americans,[11] and these mortgages are probably as much a nationality variant as a soil-type variant.

As to tenure, Table 23 shows two facts of great interest. First, Lebanon is a town of farm owners, though ownership frequently exists under the handicap of a mortgage. It is to be noted that 85.7 per cent of the Americans and 97.3 per cent of the foreigners

[11] That is to say, foreigners, regardless of soil-type, go into debt for their farms more than twice as frequently as do the Americans, but since the Americans are situated chiefly upon the best soil-type (No. I), naturally most of their mortgages occur on this soil-type.

## TABLE 22

### Analysis of Mortgages by Soil-Types

| Soil-Type | Total No. of Households Surveyed | Mortgaged Farms Owned by | | | | | | Amount of Mortgages | | | Av. Assessed Valuation per acre | | Equity Owners Hold in Mortgaged Farms | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Americans | | | Foreigners | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Number Mortgaged | Per Cent of total Farms Surveyed | Per Cent of all Farms on Soil-Type | Number Mortgaged | Per Cent of total Farms Surveyed | Per Cent of all Farms on Soil-Type | Total on Farms Surveyed | Average Mortgage Per Farm | Average Mortgage Per Acre | For Whole Town | For Mortgaged Farms | Dollars Per Acre | Per Cent of Assessed Value |
| I..... | 71 | 20 | 14 | 28 | 19 | 13 | 27 | $103,575 | $2,655 | $27.64 | $52.42 | $46.39 | $18.74 | 40 |
| II..... | 39 | 5 | 3 | 13 | 18 | 12 | 46 | 52,541 | 2,284 | 20.12 | 36.99 | 40.31 | 20.63 | 51 |
| III.... | 4 | 2 | 1 | 50 | 1 | 1 | 25 | 7,200 | 2,400 | 45.00 | 47.00 | 54.83 | 6.83 | 12 |
| IV.... | 30 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 12 | 60 | 40,440 | 2,246 | 20.57 | 37.14 | 34.49 | 13.93 | 40 |
| Total.. | 144 | 27 | 18 | 91 | 56 | 38 | 39 | $203,756 | $2,454 | $23.86 | $45.05 | $41.90 | $18.03 | 43 |

Partial résumé:

74 per cent of the American mortgages are on soil-type I.
34 per cent of the foreign mortgages are on soil-type I.
67.5 per cent of the mortgages are borne by foreigners.
58 per cent of the farms surveyed are mortgaged.

## TABLE 23

### Tenure of Households, by Soil-Type and Nationality

| Soil-Type | American | | | | | | Pole | | | | | | German | | | | | | Jew | | | | | | All Others | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Owner | | | Renter | | | Owner | | | Renter | | | Owner | | | Renter | | | Owner | | | Renter | | | Owner | | | Renter | | |
| | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. | No. | Av. Yrs. | Med. Yrs. |
| I..... | 38 | 10.5 | 10 | 9 | 5.8 | 3 | 3 | 6.6 | 4 | 0 | .. | .. | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | .. | .. | 11 | 5.6 | 4 | 1 | .. | .. | 6 | 8.8 | 11 | 0 | .. | .. |
| II..... | 15 | 19.9 | 16 | 1 | .. | .. | 7 | 4.7 | 3.5 | 0 | .. | .. | 2 | 2.5 | .. | 0 | .. | .. | 12 | 6.1 | 4 | 0 | .. | .. | 2 | 17.5 | .. | 0 | .. | .. |
| III..... | 3 | 19 | 15 | 0 | .. | .. | 1 | .9 | .. | 0 | .. | .. | 0 | .. | .. | 0 | .. | .. | 0 | .. | .. | 0 | .. | .. | 0 | .. | .. | 0 | .. | .. |
| IV..... | 5 | 10.1 | 11 | 0 | .. | .. | 3 | 6.3 | 5 | 0 | .. | .. | 5 | 8.4 | 10 | 0 | .. | .. | 13 | 6.3 | 4 | 0 | .. | .. | 4 | 20.5 | 17 | 1 | .. | .. |
| Total..... | 61 | 13.2 | 13 | 10 | 5.9 | 6 | 14 | 5.8 | 5 | 0 | .. | .. | 10 | 5.6 | 4 | 0 | .. | .. | 36 | 6.0 | 4 | 1 | .. | .. | 12 | 14.1 | 11 | 1 | .. | .. |

Partial résumé:

85.7 per cent of the Americans are owners.

97.3 per cent of the foreigners are owners.

92.4 per cent of the total number are owners.

Average years residence of owners in Lebanon: American 13.2; Poles 5.8; German, 5.6; Jews, 6; All Others, 14.1.

own their farms, with an average farm ownership of 92.4 per cent for the town as a whole. The other fact of interest is that, with the exception of the group designated as "All Others," the Americans, regardless of soil-type, have lived longer upon the average farm than have the foreigners.[12] This probably was to be expected since the foreigners, as a group, are of relatively late arrival. The table seems to show also that the length of tenure in years is greater upon the poorer soil-types, II, III, IV. The record for "All Others" does not follow suit, however, with the foreigners throughout, because a few old residents of Irish or other nationality have lived here a number of years—in one instance fifty years.

*Soil-Type and the Distribution of the Organizational Membership.*—What relation, if any, does soil-type bear to the distribution of the membership of the organizations of the town? Tables 24-A, 24-B, and 24-C present data in answer to this question. These tables show rather uniformly that more of the membership of these organizations, whether counted in gross numbers or in per cent, comes from soil-type No. I than from any of the other soil-types, the seeming outstanding exceptions being the League of Jewish Women, the Gun Clubs, the Connecticut Milk Producers' Association, and the milk-hauling coöperatives. These exceptions are to be expected, the reasons for the first two already having been stated, the last two being due possibly to a number of contributory causes.[13]

By way of summary, it may be stated that, in so far as this investigation goes, the sociological effects of differences in the agricultural quality of the land seem chiefly those of the distribution and the selection of the population. The soil-type variant in the distribution of the organizational membership of the town is due partly, perhaps, to the poorer roads on the poorer soil-types, partly to the greater density of the population in soil-type I, and more particularly to the fact that the poorer soil-types are occupied largely by a newly arrived, fairly impermanent population, heterogeneous in nationality, religion, social background, and economic outlook.

[12] In a research study made by E. L. Larsen of one-room and consolidated schools in 98 small towns of the state in 1922, it was found that during the school year 34.7 per cent of the enrollment of one-room schools and 18.3 per cent of the enrollment of the consolidated schools transferred to or from other schools. This gives a measure of the impermanency of the rural population of the state as a whole. (*Connecticut Schools*, Vol. 6, No. 6, Feb. 1925.)

[13] However, owing to the fewness of cases in the last two exceptions, much importance, perhaps, should not be attributed to them.

## TABLE 24–A

### Analysis of Social Organizations by Soil-Types and Households Represented

| Soil-Type | No. Households Surveyed | Households Represented in Various Organizations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total Organizations Outside of Town | | | Church and Synagogue | | | The Grange | | | American Men | | | D.A.R. | | | Community Club | | | Knights of Pythias | | | Get-to-gether Club | | | League of Jewish Women | | |
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | *Per Cent | †Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent |
| I..... | 71 | 49 | 18 | 44 | 25 | 57 | 51 | 80 | 26 | 70 | 37 | 23 | 67 | 32 | 7 | 78 | 10 | 8 | 40 | 11 | 11 | 74 | 15 | 3 | 50 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 3 |
| II.... | 39 | 27 | 9 | 22 | 23 | 30 | 27 | 77 | 10 | 27 | 26 | 10 | 30 | 26 | 2 | 22 | 5 | 8 | 40 | 20 | 2 | 13 | 5 | 3 | 50 | 8 | 9 | 41 | 23 |
| III... | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 25 | 4 | 3 | 100 | 1 | 3 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| IV... | 30 | 21 | 13 | 32 | 43 | 21 | 19 | 70 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 15 | 10 | 2 | 13 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 50 | 37 |
| Total. | 144 | 100 | 41 | 100 | 28 | 112 | 100 | 77 | 37 | 100 | 26 | 34 | 100 | 24 | 9 | 100 | 6 | 20 | 100 | 14 | 15 | 100 | 10 | 6 | 100 | 4 | 22 | 100 | 15 |

## TABLE 24–B

### Analysis of Economic Organizations by Soil-Types and Numbers of Households

| Soil-Type | No. Households Surveyed | Households Represented in Various Organizations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Coöperative Grain Exchange | | | Lebanon Coöperative Creamery | | | Conn. Milk Prod. Assoc. | | | N. E. Milk Prod. Assoc. | | | Farm Bureau | | | Spray Ring | | | Milk Hauling (to N. E. M. P. A.) | | |
| | | No. | Per Cent* | Per Cent† | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent |
| I..... | 71 | 16 | 55 | 23 | 15 | 44 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 43 | 13 | 5 | 36 | 7 | 2 | 22 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| II..... | 39 | 11 | 38 | 28 | 15 | 44 | 38 | 1 | 25 | 3 | 7 | 33 | 18 | 7 | 50 | 18 | 6 | 67 | 15 | 8 | 67 | 20 |
| III..... | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 11 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| IV..... | 30 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 75 | 10 | 5 | 24 | 17 | 2 | 14 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 33 | 13 |
| Total..... | 144 | 29 | 100 | 20 | 34 | 100 | 24 | 4 | 100 | 3 | 21 | 100 | 15 | 14 | 100 | 10 | 9 | 100 | 6 | 12 | 100 | 8 |

## TABLE 24–C

### Analysis of Athletic and Recreational Organizations by Soil-Types and Numbers of Households

| Soil-Type | No. Households Surveyed | Households Represented in Various Organizations | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Basket-ball Team | | | Baseball Team | | | Gun Club in Town | | | Dancing School | | |
| | | No. | Per Cent* | Per Cent† | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Per Cent |
| I | 71 | 5 | 83 | 7 | 6 | 67 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 15 | 63 | 21 |
| II | 39 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 3 | 33 | 8 | 9 | 82 | 23 | 7 | 29 | 18 |
| III | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 25 | 2 | 8 | 50 |
| IV | 30 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 144 | 6 | 100 | 4 | 9 | 100 | 6 | 11 | 100 | 8 | 24 | 100 | 17 |

* First percentage column shows proportion of the households represented in organization furnished by the given soil-type.

† Second percentage column shows by soil-type the proportion of households represented in a given organization to the total number of households surveyed in that soil-type.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEASON OF THE YEAR

What has the season of the year, if anything, to do with primary group participation in Lebanon? Table 25 and Figure IV present data in answer to this question as pertaining to attendance in the formal organizational life of the town.[14] It appears from these data that the season of the year has considerable to do with the attendance-participation of the Americans, the Jews, and all groups

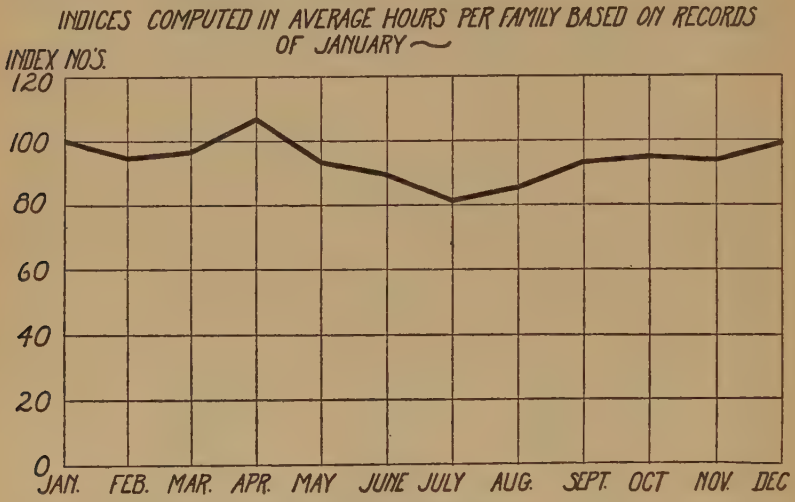



FIGURE IV

EFFECTS OF TIME OF YEAR UPON SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

combined, but is of little effect in the case of the Poles and the Germans. It is a matter of significance that participation in formal group activities for the Americans is lowered considerably throughout the productive growing season on the farm, the participation for July being but 78 per cent of that of January; it is equally significant that the participation of the Jews is reduced materially during the summer-boarder season.[15] Taking into account all the households surveyed, and leaving out of account the high record

[14] See a list of these organizations in Table 6.

[15] The participation indices shown in Table 25 were computed by dividing the "total times" of participation for the month of January into that of each of the other months. Thus it becomes a comparative participation index on the percentage basis. *Times attended*, rather than *hours of attendance*, was taken as the basis for these computations, since the length of programs for regular meetings in organizations is supposed to be a constant factor regardless of the season of the year.

## TABLE 25

### Effect of the Season of Year upon Formal Primary Group Attendance

(Stated in total number of times of participation by the various nationality groups—144 households)

| Nationality | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May | June | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| American | 655 | 625 | 613 | 622 | 579 | 574 | 514 | 524 | 554 | 596 | 605 | 643 |
| Pole | 77 | 56 | 65 | 79 | 76 | 84 | 84 | 83 | 75 | 62 | 58 | 82 |
| German | 63 | 61 | 61 | 60 | 61 | 63 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 65 | 65 |
| Jew | 77 | 72 | 100 | 184 | 93 | 51 | 39 | 63 | 109 | 103 | 78 | 72 |
| All Others | 109 | 109 | 110 | 107 | 107 | 105 | 96 | 99 | 111 | 110 | 111 | 111 |
| Total | 981 | 923 | 949 | 1,052 | 916 | 877 | 795 | 832 | 913 | 936 | 917 | 973 |
| Participation Index, based on January records | 100 | 94 | 97 | 107 | 93 | 89 | 81 | 85 | 93 | 95 | 93 | 99 |

of the month of April, the amount of participation in formal group activities, with but slight variations, has a tendency to decrease gradually from January until July, when it reaches the index number of 81 for the town as a whole, or only about four-fifths of that of January.[16] From July onward it increases, with slight variation, until the December index reaches 99, or practically the participation record of January. Thus we note conclusively a "season of year" variant in the formal group activities of this town.

In way of general summary, it may be stated that such geographical factors as position, differences in the agricultural quality of the land, and season of the year, are closely integrated, directly or indirectly, with many phases of primary group participation in relationships that seem important in most cases—relationships whose social significances seem so important as to merit extended investigation of a causal nature.

[16] The high index of participation for April is due chiefly to the accelerated participation of the Jews. In this month usually occurs a series of religious feasts and holidays.

# CHAPTER V

## CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION:

### Historical Backgrounds

The present has its roots in the past. Thus the various phases of primary group participation in Lebanon are better understood when studied in the light of their historical setting. There have taken place in this town evolutionary changes in its social composition, in its occupational life, and in its institutional development that, when traced, indicate that the various forces which originate and direct social participation do not operate in a chaotic, disconnected manner, but in a unity governed by cause and effect. Although, for the present task, it may be impracticable and impossible to point out fully and exactly all of these socio-economic changes and their causes, it is, at least, of interest to point out certain concomitant and contemporaneous changes in social participation and social participation structures logically a part of this investigation.[1]

#### EVOLUTIONARY TRENDS IN THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE TOWN

*The Original Settlement.*—Major John Mason and six other proprietors, through grant of the General Assembly and purchase from the Indians, secured lands that probably comprise most of the present town of Lebanon. Deciding that there was space sufficient here for a plantation, and

> In order that ye Worshippe of goode bee there set, ye Kingdom of Christ enlarged,[2]

[1] As suggested in a former chapter, the reader should keep in mind that in a real sense this investigation is hardly more than qualitative and preliminary to others of a casual nature that need to be made in this field, more narrowly limited in scope and with a more highly refined and quantitative methodology.

[2] Griffis, William Elliot. "Brother Jonathan and His Home." *New England Magazine*, Vol. XVII, Sept., 1897.

they marked out streets and appointed to each house lot thereon forty-two acres. In 1695 a number of Puritan settlers from Norwich, Conn., Northampton, Mass., and possibly other colonies, established the first settlement of this town at Lebanon Center, and in 1700 the proprietors parceled out land to 51 of these settlers as owners.[3] In 1698 the first town meeting was held by the inhabitants, and two years later the General Assembly made the following entry:

> Free liberty is by this Assembly granted toe Ye Inhabitants of Lebanon toe embody themselves in Church estate, and alsoe toe settle an orthodoxe minister toe dispense Ye Ordinances of God toe them, they proceeding therein with Ye consent of neighbor Churches as ye lawe in such cases doth direct.[4]

This act of the Assembly further granted:

> Toe ye Inhabitants of Lebanon all such immunities, privileges, and powers as generally other townes within ye colony have and doe enjoy.[5]

Thus the Town of Lebanon was legally established, though deputies were not sent to the Assembly till 1705; the sending of deputies was stimulated by the Assembly's placing a tax on the town the previous year for the support of public expense.

The first settlement was a modified form of medieval English farm village.[6] It was such partly because the settlers brought these ideals with them from their former European homes, partly as a protection against Indians, partly for mutual aid and comfort in becoming acclimated to the rigorous New England climate, and partly to economize in the use of such public utilities as highways, gristmills, churches, and the like. Commonage in the use of meadows, cultivated fields, pastures, and forest lands, was practiced; therefore, live stock had to be herded and branded, and the enactment of a mass of legislation was required to govern all the minutiæ of such matters.[7] But the farm village type of

[3] "In origin they (the proprietors) were a body of men who collectively purchased lands of the natives, through grant of the General Court or otherwise. The right of each in the purchased land could be sold, exchanged, or left by will." Andrews, *The River Towns of Connecticut*, p. 90. Johns Hopkins University Studies, 1889.

[4] Huntington, Mary Clarke, "Early Lebanon," *The Connecticut Quarterly*, Vol. II, January–December, 1896.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] For a fuller historical account of this settlement, see: (*a*) Griffis, William Elliot, "Brother Jonathan and His Home," *New England Magazine*, Vol. XVII, September, 1897. (*b*) Huntington, Mary Clarke, "Early Lebanon," *The Connecticut Quarterly*, Vol. II, January-December, 1896. (*c*) Hine, Rev. O. D., "*Historical Lebanon.*" (*d*) Stedman, J., "*Historic Lebanon*," p. 4. Also, for a description of the farm village, such as found in Medieval Europe, see Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, p. 34.

[7] See Weeden, Wm. B., *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. I, pp. 64, 65, "Herding Customs and Regulations."

economy and society began to change under the pressure of private ownership of land and the dispersal of the population from the place of first settlement. Besides the land awarded individual settlers in 1700, the Five Mile Purchase was parceled by lot in 1718 so that there was established in northern Lebanon a rival settlement, and in southern Lebanon a settlement sprang up on Goshen Hill about 1720 or earlier, and still later there branched off largely from Goshen the Exeter Settlement.[8] Thus, long before the Revolution, families and private holdings were interspersed throughout the town. This spread of population resulted in the multiplication of churches, roads, and like public service utilities; but later, sparseness of settlement or the racial heterogeneity of the population broke down the support of certain institutions so that they were either abandoned or consolidated as a matter of necessity.

*The Population in Transition.*—The transition in the population of this historic old town has two interesting aspects: reduction in number, and changes in nationality. As shown by Figure V, the population of this town has experienced a marked decrease in numbers since the year 1790, when it totaled 4,166. In 1920, it was only 1,343 in number.[9] It further seems apparent from best available records that the population of pioneer Lebanon, aside from the Indians, was fairly homogeneous as to nationality, religious faith, civic ideals, and social background. In speaking of the early New England settlers in general, Channing says:

> They belonged to the great middle class in old England, and they brought to their new home the ideas, energies, affections, and hatreds of their ancestors.[10]

Although the exodus of the population from this town since the beginning of the past century has been great, and although it has experienced certain nationality changes accompanying cycles of lumbering, it is only comparatively recently that marked changes in the nationality of the population have taken place.[11] In 1886 the first Hebrew family moved to this town, and since about 1910

[8] Extracts from the Records of Proprietors Meetings, office of the Town Clerk.

[9] The population data were taken from the Connecticut Register for 1924. In 1804 Columbia Town was stricken from Lebanon, but the combined populations of these in 1920 were only 2,049, or slightly less than half the population of the original town in 1790.

[10] Channing, Edward, *Town and County Government in the English Colonies of America.* Johns Hopkins University Studies, Vol. II, Second Series, p. 7. 1883.

[11] Data collected from records of town meetings, church records, etc., as well as report of older citizens now living in the town.

the Hebrews, the Germans, various Slavic and other nationalities have come here in such numbers as not only to comprise half the standing population, but to bring thither a band of immigrant, urban summer boarders equal in number to 82 per cent of the standing population. This influx of foreigners, in respect to nationality, is somewhat a contrast to the movement a few decades prior which resulted in peopling the Middle West and North Central States with a heavy sprinkling of Scandinavians, Danes, and Germans direct from the mother countries. The

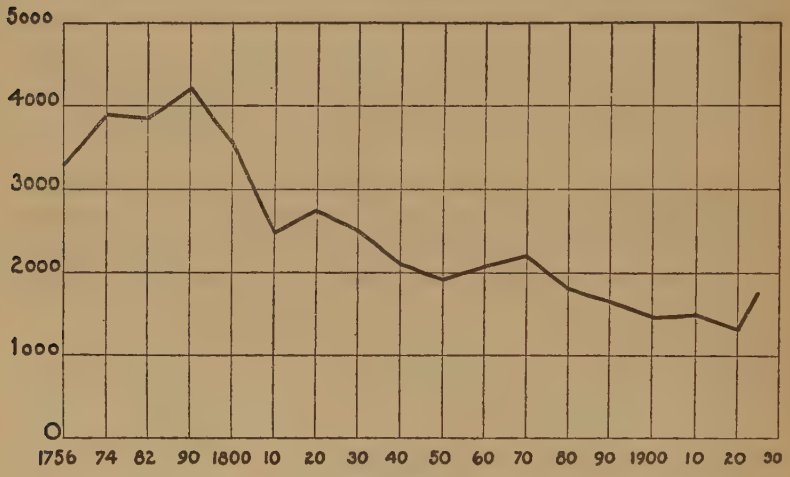



FIGURE V

POPULATION OF LEBANON, 1756–1920

present investigation shows that the immigrants who have come to Lebanon are chiefly from the different parts of the former Russian Empire and other countries of southern Europe: peasant families who have resided for a number of years in our great eastern cities before settling upon farms. These immigrants of diverse nationalities and equally diverse church connections and ideals of government, usher into this historic old Puritan town a state of socio-civic heterogeneity that challenges certain of its traditions and institutions. This influx of immigrants, no doubt, offers at least a partial explanation of the apparently low ebb in organized religious work and political consciousness characteristic of the town as a whole to-day.

*Tendencies toward Impersonal Relationships.*—If we should compare the intimacy of primary group relationships of colonial days and of the present, we would be compelled to conclude that the primary group relationships in Lebanon to-day are much more impersonal than in colonial days. The farm village type of residence and occupational employment, the homogeneity of the population as to nationality and customs, and the compulsory attendance at town meeting and church, brought the people of

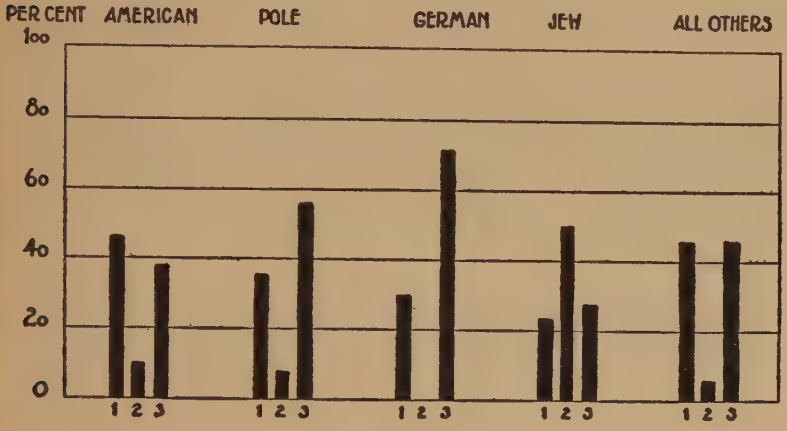



FIGURE VI

FAMILY ATTITUDE TOWARD RURAL LIFE

The households interviewed were asked to itemize what things about farm life they liked, and what things they did not like. From an analysis of these answers this graph was made. (144 households.)

1 = Favorable attitude.
2 = Unfavorable attitude.
3 = Attitudes divided or indefinite.

colonial Lebanon into intimate and frequent contact. In contrast, we note to-day that the occupation of the people is varied and frequently of an urban nature; many immigrant households and immigrant summer boarders are interspersed among the native households, many households are impermanent in residence, the town furnishes but a minor portion of the socio-economic services required by its citizens, the organizations (excepting the public schools) show a marked nationality variant in their personnel, and acquaintanceship among the households, on the whole, is casual and limited. These transitions have brought to this and

other towns of the state problems that challenge the success of certain programizational work, as well as jeopardize the happiness of rural life (see particularly Figure VI). Thus we find here unmistakably a condition approaching that of a social aggregation with but a rudimentary and more or less fortuitous community of interests: a situation militating against an extended and intimate participation of all the nationality elements of the population in the same primary group activities of the town.

## EVOLUTIONARY TRENDS IN THE OCCUPATIONAL LIFE OF THE TOWN

*The Period of Self-Sufficient Economy.*—Bidwell divides the history of the economy of rural New England into three periods. The first he designates as the period of self-sufficient economy, extending from the time of the early settlements down to about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The chief characteristics of this period he states as:

> . . . the absence of any market for farm produce and the consequent dependence of each town and, to a large extent, of each household, even, on its own resources for the satisfaction of its wants.[12]

The second period Bidwell designates as the period of transition to commercial agriculture under the stimulus afforded by the rise of manufacturing enterprises in inland towns and villages and the consequent demand for raw materials on the part of the newly-arisen, nonagricultural population—this period extending from approximately 1810 to the close of the Civil War.[13] The third period he designates as the period of decadence in agriculture, extending from the close of the Civil War to the end of the nineteenth century. This period of decadence, he believes, was brought on by the increasing competition of Western farming, but it is probable that industrial employment within New England itself contributed equally as much to it. For the sake of convenience, we may, for the time being, accept this classification, adding to it, perhaps, a fourth period extending from 1900 to the present: a period of accentuated specialization in such farming as is done.

In trying to gain an idea of the nature of the occupations of Lebanon during the period of self-sufficient economy, we must

[12] Bidwell, Percy W., *Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the 19th Century*, p. 245.

[13] It seems clear that this period began much earlier in Lebanon, in fact as early as 1760 or before.

rely entirely upon historical sources. The importance of general farming,[14] shipping, and a certain amount of crude manufacture at this time seems evident. In describing the Lebanon of this period, Stedman says:[15]

> Lebanon in the revolutionary days was a town of considerable importance, being one of the six largest in population and fifth in valuation in the colony. . . . It was the home and business headquarters of the Trumbull family, who were among the largest shipping merchants of those early days. They owned a large fleet of vessels engaged in foreign commerce. New London and Haddam were their ports, and from these places their goods were hauled in teams to Lebanon (Center), which was the central distributing point for the surrounding country.

Stuart also describes in detail numerous orders of army provisions sent to Washington's Army at Valley Forge by Governor Trumbull, Connecticut's war governor who resided at Lebanon Center.[16] These orders included quantities of wheat flour, several kinds of pickled meats, and herds of fat cattle. Todd likewise gives an idea of the farming done in this section of country in colonial days, and how products were marketed, in these words:

> It was no uncommon sight of a summer morning . . . for a hundred of these creaking, lumbering vehicles to pass in procession down the village street, each drawn by its team of four or six horses, attended by suffocating clouds of dust. . . . The wagons were laden with as varied a stock of commodities as their points of departure had been different. . . . Behind these wagoners frequently came the drovers, with horses and cattle for the Plantations.[17]

In somewhat greater detail he continues:

> The early New London seamen carried on trade with Boston, New York, and other Atlantic Coast towns. Later these seamen extended their voyages to Newfoundland and the West Indies. These ships carried outward cargoes of peltries, dry hides and buckskin, tobacco, cured beef and pork, wheat, beans and peas, corn, pots of butter, cheese from Lebanon and Colchester, piles of staves and hickory hoops neatly shaved in remote country shops. The homeward voyage brought supplies of sugar and molasses, powder and lead, rum, tools, etc.[18]

*The Transitional and Later Periods of Economy.*—These golden days of general, self-sufficing prosperity passed with the closing of the colonial era, never to return. But long before the close of this period significant socio-economic changes were in evidence, the most noticeable of which was the shifting of the population

[14] For the significance of the term "general farming," see Warren's *Farm Management*, Chap. III.

[15] Stedman, *Historic Lebanon*, p. 4.

[16] Stuart, I. W., *Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.*, p. 471; also Chapter XXXI.

[17] Todd, Charles Burr, *In Old Connecticut*, pp. 75, 134.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72. See also Ely and Moorehouse, *Elements of Land Economics*, p. 15; Weeden, Wm. B., *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. II, p. 606; and Bidwell, Percy W., *Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the 19th Century*, pp. 354–64.

of southern New England westward.[19] As early as 1719-1721, families from Lebanon, joining with those from Hartford, Windsor, and other earlier inhabited sections of the state, settled the towns of Litchfield County in western Connecticut, and by 1760, emigration began in earnest. With the close of the French and Indian War, greater safety was given settlers pushing westward from the older settlements along the seaboard, and when the embargoes and blockades accompanying the two wars with England cast a damper over New England shipping, an impetus was given to the shifting of the population that was already well under way.[20] However, in response to the war of the Revolution and the War of 1812, and possibly as a precursor to the industrial and the agrarian revolutions which were well under way at the middle of the nineteenth century, there sprang up in this town, and in all southern New England so far as that is concerned, numerous small factories and mills frequently run supplementary to farming.[21] But within the past two or three decades these small mills and factories have been rapidly passing,[22] so that their only remnants in this town are one small water-power grist and saw mill combined, near the Center, and a creamery at the Center. *Pari passu* with the going of these small mills and factories, general agriculture retreated, to be replaced, to a minor extent, by such specialized agricultural enterprises as dairying and poultry culture.

For the purpose of this study, we may pass quickly over the period of transition (1810-1865), the period of agricultural decadence (1865-1900), and, to a degree, the period of agricultural specialization as well (1900- ), by reviewing statistically certain economic trends in these periods. Recourse to the United States Census Reports makes possible the tracing of certain data as far back as 1850, and since these reports are not published for political divisions smaller than counties, some of the following tables setting forth data for the state and county in which the Town of Lebanon is situated, by analogy, may be regarded as applying to it also:

1. *Trends in Land Utilization.*—Table 26 shows the trends, over a period of 70 years, in the size and number of farms of county

[19] Todd, Charles Burr, *In Old Connecticut*, p. 79.

[20] Bidwell, Percy W., *Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the 19th Century*, pp. 383–90.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 266–75.

[22] Taylor, E. H., "What is Happening to New England," *The Country Gentleman*, May 31, 1924. Robinson, William, "Fall River: A Dying Industry," *The New Republic*, June 4, 1924.

and state, in the amount of land in farms, and in the amount of improved and unimproved land. The most significant thing shown by this table is that while the number of farms of the county and state have remained almost stationary for this period, the amount of unimproved land has greatly increased in both county and state, and the improved land in each has been heavily reduced.

TABLE 26

COMPARISON OF FARMS AND FARM LAND IN THE STATE AND IN NEW LONDON COUNTY
1850–1920

| Date | Number of Farms (by hundreds) | | Land in Farms, by 1,000 Acres | | | | | | Average Size Farm (Acres) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Total | | Improved | | Unimproved | | | |
| | State | County | State | County | State | County | State | County | State | County |
| 1850... | 224 | 26 | 2,384 | 325 | 1,768 | 222 | 616 | 103 | 106.2 | 124.1 |
| 1860... | 252 | .. | 2,504 | 323 | 1,831 | 234 | 673 | 89 | 99.5 | 110.0 |
| 1870... | 255 | 32 | 2,364 | 333 | 1,647 | 227 | 718 | 106 | 92.7 | 105.3 |
| 1880... | 306 | 33 | 2,454 | 325 | 1,642 | 202 | 811 | 124 | 80.2 | 99.4 |
| 1890... | 263 | 27 | 2,253 | 312 | 1,379 | 164 | 874 | 149 | 85.5 | 114.0 |
| 1900... | 269 | 30 | 2,312 | 325 | 1,065 | 127 | 1,248 | 197 | 85.8 | 107.7 |
| 1910... | 268 | 30 | 2,186 | 318 | 988 | 130 | 1,188 | 189 | 81.5 | 105.0 |
| 1920... | 227 | 27 | 1,899 | 288 | 701 | 80 | 1,198 | 208 | 83.8 | 104.6 |

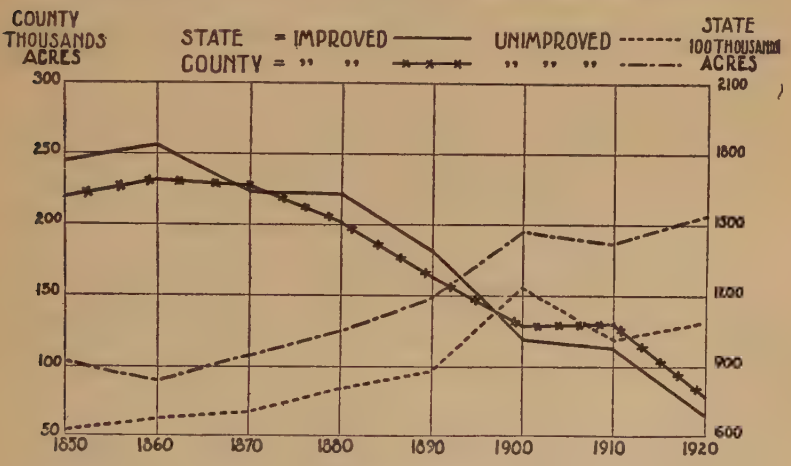



FIGURE VII

IMPROVED AND UNIMPROVED LAND IN STATE AND IN NEW LONDON COUNTY (U.S. Census) 1850–1920

For the sake of comparison, the graph of the trend of land utilization for farming in New London County is superimposed upon that of the state.

To make these data more easily grasped, we calculate the amount of unimproved land in county and state to be respectively 202 per cent and 194.5 per cent of the acreage seventy years ago, and the improved land in each respectively, 36 per cent and 40 per per cent of the acreage seventy years ago (see Figure VII). Likewise, referring to the report of Mr. Morgan's soil survey of this town, it is clear that this particular town is keeping pace with the state and county in land utilization; for, computing from Mr. Morgan's data, the four major soil-types of this town are found to be covered by hard wood and brushy and low grade pasture, as follows: soil-type I, 32.7 per cent; soil-type II, 58.6 per cent; soil-type III, 43.1 per cent; and soil-type IV, 85.2 per cent; total for all soil-types, 65 per cent.[23] Judging from these data it has been the agriculturally submarginal land in state and county that has reverted to the unimproved class.

2. *Trends in Farm Products.*—Tables 27-A, 27-B, and 27-C present statistically the trends in certain farm products in state and county over a period of seventy years. Not considering horses, which are now purchased in carload lots from the West rather than raised locally, and poultry, which is not accounted

TABLE 27-A

COMPARISON OF LIVE STOCK, IN THE STATE AND IN NEW LONDON COUNTY 1850–1920

(U. S. Census Reports)

| Date | No of Dairy Cows (by thousands) | | No. of Horses * (by thousands) | | No. of Sheep (by thousands) | | No. of Swine (by thousands) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | County | State | County | State | County | State | County |
| 1850 | 85, | 11, | 27, | 3, | 174, | 29, | 76, | 10, |
| 1860 | 99, | 13, | 33, | 3, | 117, | 24, | 75, | 10, |
| 1870 | 99, | 13, | 35, | 4, | 84, | 21, | 52, | 7, |
| 1880 | 116, | 14, | 45, | 5, | 59, | 17, | 64, | 8, |
| 1890 | 128, | 14, | 44, | 4, | 38, | 11, | 62, | 7, |
| 1900 | 126, | 15, | 51, | 5, | 23, | 8, | 46, | 5, |
| 1910 | 123, | 15, | 46, | 5, | 22, | 4, | 52, | 3, |
| 1920 | 113, | 15, | 54, | 4, | 11, | 3, | 61, | 7, |

* Very few horses are raised in Connecticut to-day. Horses are purchased by the carload chiefly from the West.

[23] Morgan, M. F., "Land Cover Studies as a Basis for a More Accurate Interpretation of the Soil Survey," *Journal of the American Society of Agronomy*, Vol. 16, No. 7, p. 455, July, 1924. See also Map IV of the present study.

TABLE 27–B

COMPARISON OF LIVE STOCK PRODUCTS, IN THE STATE AND IN NEW LONDON COUNTY

1850–1920

(U.S. Census Reports)

| Date | Thousands of Pounds Produced | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Butter | | Cheese | | Wool | | Honey | |
| | State | County | State | County | State | County | State | County |
| 1850..... | 6,498, | 668, | 5,363, | 469, | 497, | 80, | 93, | 5, |
| 1860..... | 7,621, | 882, | 3,898, | 272, | 336, | 70, | 63, | 5, |
| 1870..... | 6,716, | 803, | 2,031, | 96, | 254, | 65, | 32, | 9, |
| 1880..... | 8,198, | 862, | 826, | 42, | 230, | 61, | 100, | 14, |
| 1890..... | 7,196, | 745, | 113, | 7, | 127, | 36, | 131, | 7, |
| 1900..... | 4,592, | 565, | 41, | 4, | 104, | 31, | 123, | 21, |
| 1910..... | 3,499, | 406, | 79, | 23, | 71, | .. | 146, | 25, |
| 1920..... | 1,926, | 262, | 90, | 14, | 53, | 11, | 83, | 6, |

TABLE 27–C

COMPARISON OF FARM CROPS IN THE STATE AND IN NEW LONDON COUNTY

1850–1920

(U. S. Census Reports)

| Date | Thousands of Bushels Produced | | | | | | | | Thousands of Tons Produced | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Corn | | Oats | | Rye | | Potatoes | | Hay | |
| | State | County | State | County | State | County | State | County | State | County |
| 1850... | 1,935, | 234, | 1,259, | 99, | 601, | 29, | 2,690, | 354, | 516, | 53, |
| 1860... | 2,060, | 276, | 1,522, | 174, | 619, | 37, | 1,836, | 187, | 562, | 63, |
| 1870... | 1,570, | 247, | 1,115, | 174, | 289, | 17, | 2,791, | 331, | 563, | 66, |
| 1880... | 1,880, | 245, | 1,010, | 146, | 371, | 16, | 2,584, | 250, | 564, | 60, |
| 1890... | 1,472, | 171, | 594, | 72, | 215, | 9, | 1,658, | 129, | 613, | 64, |
| 1900... | 1,932, | 215, | 316, | 20, | 203, | 8, | 3,484, | 337, | 441, | 54, |
| 1910... | 2,531, | 326, | 274, | 33, | 138, | 6, | 2,684, | 50, | 397, | 63, |
| 1920... | 2,062, | 237, | 295, | 26, | 84, | 4, | 1,373, | 133, | 329, | 82, |

for in the older census reports, it appears that dairy cattle are the only live stock in county and state holding their own over a long period of years—an example of the adaptation and selection of agricultural enterprises on the basis of the suitability of the land for the same.[24] The marked decline in the production of

[24] Morgan, M. F., "Land Cover Studies as a Basis for a More Accurate Interpretation of the Soil Survey," *Journal of the American Society of Agronomy*, Vol. 16, No. 7, July, 1924.

butter and cheese is due to the fact that the dairy industry in this section of country is in the midst of an excellent urban market that makes the sale of liquid milk more profitable than butter and cheese. The production of corn and hay, while fluctuating somewhat over the period of seventy years, makes a favorable showing, due no doubt to the importance of these crops to dairying, while the production of oats and rye is sharply on the decline. It is to be noted further that the production of potatoes, though fluctuating somewhat during this period, seems to be holding its own.[25]

3. *The Passing of Certain Industries and Institutions.*—Table 28 sets forth, by comparing the situation in Lebanon for the years

TABLE 28

COMPARISON OF CERTAIN INDUSTRIES AND INSTITUTIONS
1868 and 1924

| Items of Comparison | Year | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1868 | 1924 |
| Hospital | 1 | 0 |
| Doctors | 2 | 0 |
| Churches (Congregational, 3; Christian, 1; Baptist, 2; Presbyterian, 1; Methodist, 1) | 8 | 4 |
| Country Stores | 4 | 5 |
| Post Offices | 2 | 2 |
| Blacksmith Shops | 7 | 2 |
| Wagon Shops | 4 | 0 |
| Gristmills | 3 | 1 |
| Sawmills | 6 | 2 |
| Quarries | 3 | 0 |
| Peat Bed | 1 | 0 |
| Mineral Spring (Bottle Works) | 1 | 0 |
| Rubber Manufacturing Company | 1 | 0 |
| Cotton Manufacturing Company | 1 | 0 |
| Creameries | 0 | 1 |
| Factory (Undetermined) | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 45 | 17 |

[25] While poultry culture, truck farming, fruit growing and tobacco growing are important specialized farming enterprises in certain localities of the state, adequate statistical data on their production for the entire seventy-year period were not available: therefore these enterprises were omitted here.

1868 and 1924, the shift in the number of certain industries and institutions. Except in the matter of country stores and post offices, it will be noted that the year 1924 saw a great reduction, or a total extinction of many industries and institutions that flourished in this historic old town as late as the close of the Civil War. The hospital, the wagon shops, the quarries, the bottling works, and the rubber and textile factories operating at the close of the Civil War had all passed by 1924; so had half of the churches and all the doctors.

4. *Households Vocationally Divided.*—Table 29 and Figure VIII set forth the extent to which the households of this town are

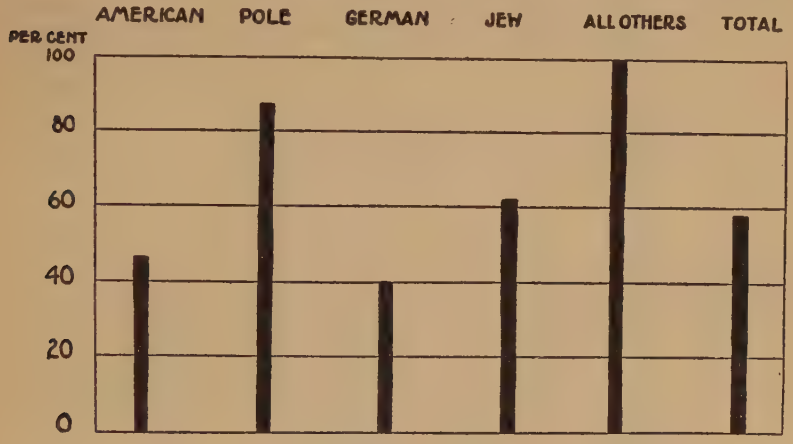



FIGURE VIII

HOUSEHOLDS VOCATIONALLY DIVIDED

vocationally divided. By the term *vocational division* we mean that some member or members of the household work regularly away from home part or all the time, the proceeds of such labor going, in whole or in part, to the support of the household. It will be seen from this table that of the 144 households surveyed, 58 per cent are vocationally divided.[26] A few individuals commute daily by automobile to near-by mill towns, others walk; some come home occasionally at week-ends, and others at longer intervals. A few of the households surveyed get an allowance from relatives not now members of the household. One such case was

[26] According to the definition of the term *vocational division*, the summer boarder business is excluded from these data.

TABLE 29

THE VOCATIONAL DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLDS

(Distribution, by number, according to vocations)

| Nationality | All Time | | | | | | | Part Time | | | | | | | Total | | Grand Total | Per Cent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Clerical Work | Mill and Factory | Household and Personal | Professional | Farm Hand | Carpentry | Miscellaneous | Clerical Work | Mill and Factory | Farm Hand | Carpentry | Team and Road | Teaching | Miscellaneous | All Time | Part Time | | Each Nationality Is of the Total in Town | Of Each Nationality Vocationally Divided |
| American | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 3 | .. | .. | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 21 | 11 | 32 | 38 | 46 |
| Pole | .. | 4 | .. | 2 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 7 | 5 | 12 | 14 | 86 |
| German | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 40 |
| Jew | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | 5 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 3 | 14 | 9 | 23 | 27 | 62 |
| All Others | 3 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 12 | 1 | 13 | 16 | 100 |
| Total | 9 | 18 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 3 | .. | 5 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 8 | 56 | 28 | 84 | 100 | 58 |

that of an immigrant family consisting of two grandparents, a young man and wife, and three or four young children. This family had purchased a poor farm at an exorbitant price, and but for the $400 yearly donated by two of the young man's sisters working in New York City, could not have retained the farm. The vocational division of so many households in this town is not only a measure of city dominance here, but also indicates that under present conditions farming does not pay sufficiently well to support households according to the requirements of modern standards of living. Thus, bearing in mind the extent of the summer boarder business, as well as the extent of vocational division of the households of the town, it seems clear that for an increasing number of households, the farm is becoming more of a home and a nursery for the upbringing of children than a plant for extractive agriculture; and while many households may specialize considerably in poultry keeping or some other farm enterprise, an equally great number carry on but a minor bit of general farming, plus, perhaps, a hint at specialization in some enterprise easily entered and easily discontinued.

5. *Methods of Obtaining Farms.*—Table 30, by showing how farmers of this town come into possession of their land, gives a measure of the strength of desire to become owners rather than

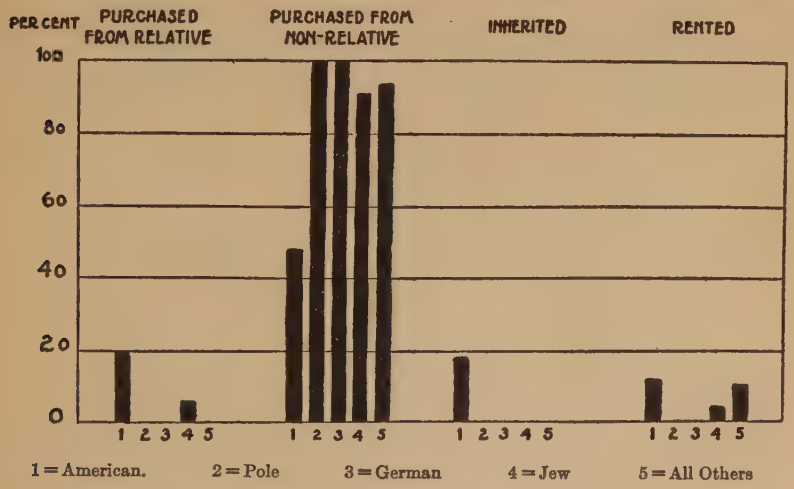



FIGURE IX

ACQUISITION OF THE FARM

## TABLE 30

### Manner of Acquisition of Farm

| Nationality | Rented | | Purchased from | | | | | | | | Inherited from | | | | Total Per Cent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Father | | Wife's Father | | Other Relatives | | Nonrelative | | Father | | Wife's Father | | |
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | |
| American..... | 9 | 12.8 | 5 | 7.2 | 1 | 1.4 | 8 | 11.4 | 34 | 48.5 | 11 | 15.8 | 2 | 2.9 | 100 |
| Pole..... | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 100.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| German..... | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 100.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| Jew..... | 1 | 2.8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5.4 | 34 | 91.8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| All Others..... | 1 | 7.7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 92.3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| Total..... | 11 | 7.6 | 5 | 3.5 | 1 | 0.7 | 10 | 6.9 | 104 | 72.3 | 11 | 7.6 | 2 | 1.4 | 100 |

Note that but 7.6 per cent of the farms are rented; that renting is more prevalent among the native stock than the foreigners; and that most of the farms are acquired through purchase from nonrelatives.

renters; the weakness of inheritance as a method of obtaining farms; and the shift from agriculture as a vocation from generation to generation. It is to be noted that Lebanon is a town of farm owners, 92.4 per cent of the farmers owning their farms; and it is to be noted further that purchase from nonrelatives is the chief method of coming into possession of land. Owing to the recency of arrival of the foreigners, there has been but little opportunity for inheritance of land among them, and it is probable that with heavy mortgages and great impermanency of residence, inheritance of land will continue to play a minor rôle here in the near future as in the past.

6. *The Agricultural Ladder.*—Table 31 and Figure X set forth, by separate rounds on the agricultural ladder, the history of the

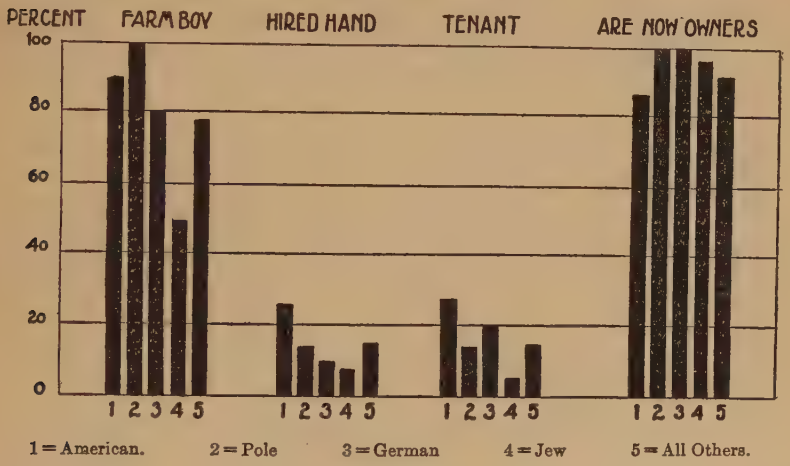



FIGURE X

AGRICULTURAL LADDER SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF FARMERS WHO HAVE GONE OVER THE DIFFERENT ROUNDS OF AGRICULTURAL EXPERIENCE

present farmers of Lebanon. These data show that 79.2 per cent have been farm boys, 16 per cent have been farm hands, 25 per cent have been farm tenants, and 92.4 per cent are now farm owners. The farm hand and the tenant rounds seem relatively insignificant in the ladder to farm ownership, particularly among the Jews, Germans, and Poles. By combination of rounds, Table 32 and Figure XI also show that in this town only 4.2 per cent of the farm owners have climbed the ladder round by round

TABLE 31

THE AGRICULTURAL LADDER

(History of present farmers, as presented by several rounds of the ladder)

| NATIONALITY | Total Number Surveyed | Farm Boys | | Farm Hands | | Farm Tenants | | Farmers who were Tenants on Present Farm | | Farmers Owning Farms now Occupied | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| American.... | 70 | 64 | 91.5 | 14 | 20.0 | 27 | 38.6 | 15 | 21.4 | 61 | 87.2 |
| Jew..... | 37 | 18 | 48.7 | 3 | 8.1 | 3 | 8.1 | 2 | 5.4 | 36 | 94.6 |
| German..... | 10 | 8 | 80.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 2 | 20.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 10 | 100.0 |
| Pole..... | 14 | 14 | 100.6 | 2 | 14.3 | 1 | 7.1 | 1 | 7.1 | 14 | 100.0 |
| All Others... | 13 | 10 | 77.0 | 3 | 25.0 | 3 | 23.0 | 2 | 15.4 | 12 | 92.0 |
| Average Total | 144 | 114 | 79.2 | 23 | 16.0 | 36 | 25.0 | 20 | 13.9 | 133 | 92.4 |

from farm boy to farm owner. Somewhat in contrast to these findings, Dr. Spillman found in a study of the vocational background of 2,112 Mid-Western farm owners that 20 per cent had passed through the farm boy, hired hand, and tenant stages to ownership.[27] It appears further from Dr. Spillman's data set

TABLE 32

THE AGRICULTURAL LADDER

(A comparison of Lebanon and the Mid-West, by combinations of rounds)

| Combinations of Rounds | Per Cent of Farmers Passing Through These Combination of Rounds | |
|---|---|---|
| | Mid-West | Lebanon |
| FHTO..... | 20.0 | 4.2 |
| FHO..... | 13.0 | 13.9 |
| FTO..... | 32.0 | 20.8 |
| FO..... | 34.0 | 45.8 |
| O*..... | ? | 15.3 |

F = unpaid labor (farm boy), H = hired man, T = tenant, O = owner.

* This O means coming into farm ownership from an urban upbringing without having experienced the other rounds of the agricultural ladder.

[27] Spillman, W. J., "The Agricultural Ladder," *American Economic Review, Supplement*, March, 1919, Vol. 9, No. 1.

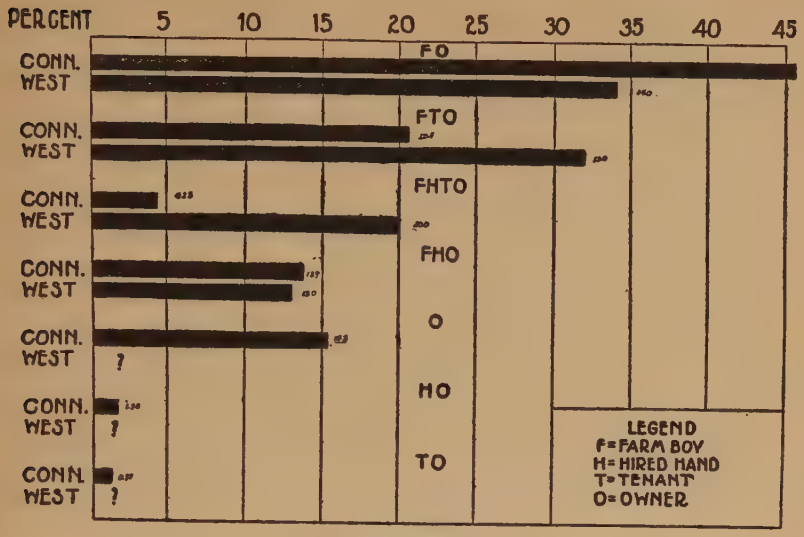



FIGURE XI

AGRICULTURAL LADDER—COMPARISON OF CONNECTICUT AND MID-WEST
(Based on Table 32)

forth, in part, in this table, that no Mid-Western farmer skipped entirely the first three rounds of the agricultural ladder to ownership, whereas in Lebanon 15.3 per cent of the present farm owners were city men who went directly from a city upbringing and experience to farm ownership.

*The Effect of Occupational Transitions upon Social Structures.*—We have noted already how the spread of the population in later colonial days and the multiplication of certain institutions and public utilities went hand in hand, and, subsequently, how the decrease in the population and the interspersion of heterogeneous nationality elements among the native stock went hand in hand with the deterioration of certain institutions and industries and the shifting of residences. As a brief summary of this section of this report, we may point out more specifically how the shift in occupational activities has changed the form, or at least attended the change in form, of certain primary group structures in the town. When commonage in farming was abandoned and live stock came to be kept under fence, the offices of live stock herder and brander became obsolete; and when shipping was molested by the two wars with England and evolutionary changes, the

offices of leather sealer, gauger, packer and sealer of measures passed away entirely or became merged with certain state and federal offices.[28] Likewise, largely in obedience to economic law, many industries, institutions, and professional services that once flourished here, have gone to more populous centers. This movement, combined with the vocational division of households, tends to increase the socio-economic dependency of the town upon outside sources and agencies, and at the same time tends to bring the households of the town into more intimate contact with urban ideals of labor, recreation, and standards of living. The shift in the utilization of land from agricultural to recreational uses, in turn, has brought to the town a large influx of urban immigrant residents and summer boarders who seem to care very little about certain of its institutions and traditions. These newcomers, through the enjoyment of extended periods of leisure and recreation in the presence of the native stock, tend to stir up in the latter, no doubt, a feeling of dissatisfaction with farm life.

### EVOLUTIONARY TRENDS IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE TOWN

The same dynamic spirit of change shown by the shift in the social composition and in the occupations of the population, may likewise be traced historically in the institutions of the town.[29] But however interesting and applicable a detailed account of the evolutionary trends in the institutional life of the town to an adequate understanding of the matrix of present-day social participation, for practical purposes, we may limit the present consideration to the three institutions of traditional importance to the average New England town: the church, the town meeting, and the public schools.

*The Origin and the Importance of the Early Churches.*—The "church and the state" in colonial Lebanon were closely integrated. The geographical boundaries of the church and the town were at first coterminous, and the act of the General Assembly that established the town also chartered the church.[30] While, theoretically, nonchurch members could vote in town meetings in colonial Connecticut, admittance to citizenship was by vote of

[28] The number of town officials has been reduced about 50 per cent within the past century (Records of the Town Clerk's Office).

[29] For a good discussion of the deterioration of social structures, see Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, Chap. XXV.

[30] See quotations from the acts of the General Assembly, p. 64 of this report.

the town meeting; so, in practice, those who were voting citizens were also the directors of the affairs of the church. Says Weeden:

> The form of church administration — the meeting — was in the fullest accord with the magistrates and the civil government. The ministers appear at every important crisis in civil affairs, and compel respect for their views in shaping the policy of the General Court.[31]

As to the financial support of the church, Weeden continues:

> Though at first voluntary, it became a regular item of civil expense; taxes were levied for the support of religion, and attendance on worship was compulsory,[32]

and one not a member of an established church was compelled to pay church tax the same as required of regular members and the same as civil tax.[33]

Overweening piety, strife, and church growth were strange companions in the church history of early Lebanon. In describing the severity of the code of morals and religion characteristic of colonial New England, Weeden says:

> No food or lodging could be given a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretick. No one could run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting. No one should travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair or shave, on the Sabbath day. No woman should kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting day.[34]

Whether to escape somewhat the severity of such codes, or the handicaps of the semi-communal system of farming practiced by the first settlement, or whether for other reasons, settlers led by Dewey and Clark took possession of the Five Mile Purchase north of Lebanon Center, as we have already noted, and families also settled to the south so that by 1727 Goshen Society was laid off and two years later the Goshen Congregational Church was organized.[35] When the Goshen Society was created and its own church established, the center of population of the original society was thrown northward so that the settlers north of Lebanon Center asked to have the church relocated there. A long and bitter church war ensued which involved much litigation and the arresting and haling before the courts of leading members of each side of the controversy, including the aged William Williams, a signer

[31] Weeden, Wm. B., *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. I, pp. 68–9.
[32] *Idem.*
[33] Johnston, Alexander, *Connecticut: A Study of a Commonwealth-Democracy*, Chap. XIII.
[34] Weeden, Wm. B., *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. I, p. 223.
[35] Hurd, D. Hamilton, *History of New London County*, pp. 502, 505.

of the Declaration of Independence and at that time a Judge of the County Court. The meeting house of North Lebanon Church, built as the result of this controversy, later (1804) came into the possession of the present Baptist Church. Exeter Congregational Church, founded in 1773, grew out of a difficulty with the Goshen Society over the location of the meeting house and continued as an independent organization for nearly 150 years.[36] In 1912, Liberty Hill Congregational Church was established and took over the most of the few remaining members of the near-by Exeter Church, the latter being abandoned in 1920 and the building sold to a Jew.[37] In 1868 there were in Lebanon 8 churches: 3 Congregational, 1 Christian, 2 Baptist, 1 Presbyterian, and 1 Methodist.[38] These, with a Catholic Church at Bozrah, evidently established since 1868, have all become extinct, except the Congregational Churches at Lebanon Center and Goshen, and the Baptist Church at the Center. These three, with the newly formed Liberty Hill Congregational Church, are the only organized church societies which are active in the town and which have a church building as a place for worship.

*Trends in Church Membership.*—The trend in the number of members of the present church societies of the town is a matter of interest. Statistical data covering this matter are presented by Table 33. These data show that with the exception of the First Congregational Church, the churches of this town are experiencing an indifferent growth in membership, if not an actual decline. Taking two dates for which comparable figures could be obtained, and judging from the number of members enrolled by the Congregational societies, one must conclude that the Protestant Churches of this town, on the whole, are on the decline. In 1870, Lebanon, Goshen, and Exeter Congregational Churches had a total of 429 members, but in 1924 the three Congregational Churches of the town had only 287 members—66.9 per cent of the 1870 enrollment.[39] The population of the town in 1870 was 2,211, and in 1924 was estimated at 1,740—78.7 per cent of the 1870 population. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that since 1868 the Protes-

[36] Hurd, D. Hamilton, *History of New London County*, p. 504.

[37] Data obtained from a collection of newspaper clippings and unpublished records in possession of the Congregational House, Hartford, Conn.

[38] See Table 28.

[39] The data for 1870 were obtained from Vol. I of the statistics of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut (1831–1879), and for the year 1924 by survey in the present investigation.

TABLE 33

TRENDS IN THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT CHURCHES OF LEBANON*

| Year | First Congregational | Goshen Congregational | Exeter Congregational | Liberty Hill Congregational | First Baptist |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1835 | 124 | 127 | | | |
| 1840 | 102 | 132 | 40 | | |
| 1850 | 115 | 115 | 47 | | |
| 1860 | 124 | 126 | 57 | | |
| 1870 | 187 | 185 | 57 | | |
| 1880 | 171 | 75 | 78 | | |
| 1890 | 141 | 70 | 55 | | 120 |
| 1900 | 145 | 99 | 51 | | 101 |
| 1910 | 103 | 90 | 54 | | 81 |
| 1916 | 148 | 88 | 34 | 59 | 90 |
| 1924 | 156 | 44 | Discontinued in 1920 | 87 | 75 |

* Data on the Congregational churches were obtained from Vol. I of the statistics of Connecticut Congregational Churches, and on the Baptist Church from the Rev. Andrew G. Littlefield, the minister. The First Congregational Church was established in 1700, the Goshen Congregational Church in 1729, the Exeter Congregational Church in 1773, the Liberty Hill Congregational Church in 1912, and the First Baptist Church in 1805.

tant Churches of the town have been reduced in number 50 per cent.[40]

*The Church Then and Now.*—In reflecting upon the church history of Lebanon, one cannot help contrasting the church of colonial days with the church of to-day. In colonial days the church and the civic life of the town were so integrated as to result in a society that was not a mere aggregation of individuals.[41] Intimacy of acquaintanceship and a common dependency were augmented by the fact that colonial Lebanon, though progressive for its times, had but relatively little contact with the outside world. Books and magazines were rare and very little extended traveling was done. Thus the poverty of intellectual interests made both church and town meeting assume a much larger place in colonial life than now, and the interests of the community, withal, more centripetal. To-day, there exists here an aggregation

[40] See also the nationality of the membership of the present church societies, Table 9.

[41] Weeden, Wm. B., *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. II, p. 75. (Speaking of New England in general.)

of people differing widely in nationality and religious belief; the Sabbath is not observed in the strict, reverential manner of former years; fewer people are actively allied with church work; and at least two of the present church societies are not self-supporting.[42]

*The Evolutionary Aspects of the Town Meeting.*—Change, as a social phenomenon, has not been confined to the churches of this town, however. The New England town meeting, which, according to Fiske, is a lineal descendant of the early Aryan assemblies, has also experienced evolutionary changes, as can be noted from the history of Lebanon.[43] For example, changes in the manner of advertising a town meeting and attendance thereto may be traced. In colonial times the order for a town meeting was given by the townsmen (selectmen) to the constable, who gave notice to the warner and drummer. The warner left a summons at every house, and the drummer began to beat half an hour before the time for business. If a constable, two townsmen, and fifteen inhabitants appeared, it was a legal meeting. The inhabitants were obliged to attend these meetings under penalty of two shillings and sixpence fine. Likewise, office was given rather than sought, and then it must be taken, or the delinquent fined.[44] Later, along with the repeal of the requirements for compulsory attendance at town meetings and the "conferring" of offices, the warner and drummer were dispensed with and in their stead was substituted a written notice posted at the town hall, upon billboards at the forks of the roads, and possibly at the country groceries. Since practically half of the present population of the town are foreigners, many of whom are as yet unnaturalized and cannot read a notice in English, and since many, both native and foreign, do not seem sufficiently interested in town affairs to attend its meetings, we find attendance at the town meeting to-day quite a contrast to that of colonial days. Now, unless an unusual issue is at stake, a comparatively small number attend the caucuses and the town meetings, and consequently a relatively small per cent of the voters conduct the government of the town.[45]

Structural changes may also be noted in the town government.

[42] For a more complete account of the ecclesiastical affairs of Connecticut, see Hollister, G. H., *The History of Connecticut from the First Settlement of the Colony*, Vol. II, Chap. XXV.

[43] Fiske, John, *American Policital Ideas*, p. 61. See also Barrow, A. J., "A New England Town Meeting of To-day," *The Outlook*, Vol. 75, No. 7, Oct. 17, 1903.

[44] Hurd, D. Hamilton, *History of New London County*, p. 144.

[45] At the town meeting held October 1, 1923, only 216 of the 433 legal voters of the town participated.

The proprietors, who through grant and purchase had obtained the original possession of the land, during the infancy of the town formed a sort of community council. When the land was parceled out, either in commonage or for individual ownership, and when regulations had to be made covering such matters as the right to cut timber, the management of the common meadows and fields, taxation, and the like, the authority of the proprietors at times ran counter to that of the town meeting. Eventually the town meeting entirely superseded the proprietors' council as a political body,[46] and the structure of the town meeting itself has changed. Reference to the Records of the Town Meeting of December 23, 1751,[47] shows that 84 town officials were elected at that meeting: 24 surveyors of highways, 1 collector of county rates, 2 constables and collectors of town rates, 7 grand jurymen, 3 fence viewers, 7 listers, 9 tythingmen, 4 leather sealers, 4 haywards, 4 pound keepers, 7 branders, 1 gauger, 1 sealer of weights, 1 chimney viewer, 1 packer, 2 sealers of measures, 5 selectmen, and 1 town clerk and treasurer. At the town meeting of November 3, 1800, there were 91 town officials elected for the ensuing year.[48] To-day there are fewer town officials (41), such offices as chimney viewer, stock brander, leather sealer, and packer having long since passed into history, along with the needs for the same.

*Historical Constants in the Town Government.*—In briefly examining the history of the town government in Lebanon, we note certain constants as well as certain variables. The town records show, that with but little or no change during the 225 years of its existence, the political and the fiscal affairs of the town have been performed in about the same way. The town meetings are duly warned, the business of the meeting is conducted according to set parliamentary procedure in which all citizens present may participate, and decisions are made by a formal vote. Custom and formal action of the town meeting may permit certain discretion in the acts of the officials during the adjournment of the meeting, but always such discretions have been carefully guarded, zealously scrutinized, and subject to the authority of the meeting.

*Early Schools and Education.*—The literature upon education in Lebanon in colonial days is confined largely to an account of two

[46] Andrews, Charles M., *The River Towns of Connecticut*, pp. 66, 67.
[47] *Town Meeting Records*, Book I, p. 206, December 23, 1751.
[48] *Town Meeting Records*, Book I, p. 414, November 3, 1800.

rather famous schools: the Moore Indian Charity School, and Tisdale's School. The former was named after Joshua Moore, who left his house and two acres of land for a school (1754).[49] The Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, a Lebanon Congregational minister who had been preaching to the Indians and who had been previously conducting a private school in his own home, was made the master of this school. Here Indian girls were taught sewing and housework, and religious education was provided. Through the preaching of Samson Occum, an intelligent Mohegan Indian convert to Christianity, 10,000 pounds sterling was collected in England and Scotland for the support of this school. Thus endowed, this famous Indian School was moved in 1770 to Hanover, New Hampshire, for the purpose of securing more retired surroundings than those afforded by the more cosmopolitan and thickly settled Lebanon. This school formed the foundation of what became later Dartmouth College.[50] Tisdale's School was established in 1743, at the instance of Jonathan Trumbull, and ran 37 years under the mastership of Nathan Tisdale.[51] This school drew pupils from the West Indies, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. At one time it had students from nine of the thirteen colonies.[52] The duration of this school seems to have been relatively short, for the historian does not seem to have followed it beyond the mastership of Tisdale. With the passing of these two rather famous schools, we do not hear of any important schools of higher learning in Lebanon until the erection of the present high school at Lebanon Center a few years ago. For a number of years Lebanon high school students had been attending the Windham High School, in Willimantic, a mile or so outside the Lebanon town limits, but after several years of agitation, the present high school was established by a small majority of votes. The present elementary schools, ten in number and interspersed throughout the town, were established in the same way as the other rural schools of the state. These schools are included in the rural supervisory system of the state, and consolidation has been made at two centers.[53]

*Other Educational Agencies.*—Among other educational agencies found in the town of Lebanon are two Jewish religious schools

[49] Clark, George L., *A History of Connecticut*, p. 51.
[50] Stedman, Joe, *Historic Lebanon*, p. 32.
[51] Hine, the Rev. O. D., *Historical Lebanon*, p. 22.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.
[53] See the nationality of the student body of the high school and elementary schools of this town, Table 9.

## TABLE 34–A

### Reading Matter in the Homes—Books

1923–24

| Nationality | Books Other Than Current Fiction | | | | | | | | | | Applied Art and Science | | | Current Fiction | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Bible | Talmud | Torah | Classical Literature | Biography-History | Sociology | Travel | Fine Arts | Science | Reference | Agriculture | Home Economics | Others | Unclassified | Religious | Other Good | Light | All Books |
| Americans | 17 | .. | .. | 5 | .. | .. | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | 58 | 4 | 6 | 40 | 138 |
| Poles | 3 | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | 1 | 6 | 15 |
| Germans | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Jews | 15 | 5 | 3 | 13 | 5 | 2 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | 14 | 1 | 4 | 35 | 102 |
| All Others | 2 | .. | .. | 5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | .. | 1 | 4 | 17 |
| Total | 38 | 5 | 3 | 25 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 5 | .. | .. | 76 | 5 | 13 | 87 | 277 |

Note: These books were classified by Miss Elsie Marsh, Assistant Librarian of Connecticut Agricultural College.

## TABLE 34–B

READING MATTER IN THE HOMES—NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

1923–24

| Nationality | Daily and Weekly | | | | Monthly and Other Magazines | | | | Applied Art and Science | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Religious | Secular | | Foreign | Scientific, Literary, Political, etc. | Women's | Religious | Others | Agriculture | Home Economics | Others |
| | | Better | Poorer | | | | | | | | |
| Americans | 2 | 52 | .. | .. | 16 | 17 | 9 | 1 | 118 | 4 | 1 |
| Poles | .. | 5 | .. | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | 11 | 2 | .. |
| Germans | .. | 5 | .. | 3 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | .. | .. |
| Jews | .. | 13 | .. | 24 | 3 | 1 | .. | .. | 48 | .. | 2 |
| All Others | .. | 6 | .. | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | .. | 6 | .. | .. |
| Total | 2 | 81 | .. | 32 | 24 | 19 | 10 | 1 | 190 | 6 | 3 |

for children,[54] the Sunday schools, a public library, the extension service of Connecticut Agricultural College and the Farm Bureau, certain extension service of the Jewish Agricultural Society and the League of Jewish Women, and the reading of magazines and books in the homes. The amount and kind of reading done in the homes of the people of this town are shown by Tables 34-A and 34-B. It is seen that the Americans and the Jews lead the field in reading matter, the American households reading on the average slightly less than two books during the year, while the Jews read on the average nearly three books per household. But in newspapers and magazines, the Americans excel the Jews, the former reading on the average slightly more than three and the latter slightly less than two and one-half newspapers and magazines per household during the year. In this sort of literature farm papers occur more frequently than any other class of newspapers and magazines, being 51.6 per cent of the entire number.

### SUMMARY

By way of general summary, we note that the population, the occupations, and the institutions of this town have been dynamic. The population during the procession of years following the Revolutionary War has had a sharp reduction in number and a marked change in nationality; numerous professions and industries, and a type of general farming once found here, have passed, or are passing, to be replaced by a little general farming and a certain amount of urban employment and recreational pursuits; and the institutions of traditional note have experienced shifts in their social composition and in their importance as well. Thus we have seen the first little farm-village settlement at Lebanon Center evolve into a prosperous agricultural and industrial community with centripetal interests, quite self-sufficient and socially homogeneous; then yielding to a number of external and internal forces, it has changed gradually into a highly dependent, socially heterogeneous society, comprising a few loosely organized neighborhoods whose interests are becoming more and more centrifugal cityward. These changes have tended to widen the socio-economic horizons of the town, leading it from a provincial state of self-sufficiency into a place in the bigger, impersonal world community.

[54] These schools are taught by rabbis who are paid from private funds, the children being assembled in a private home in the evening at the close of the public schools.

# CHAPTER VI

## GENERAL SUMMARY

### A. Basic Assumptions

This has been aimed as a quantitative study in primary group behavior in which social participation and its determinants have been correlated and, as far as possible, analyzed in the light of their broad sociological backgrounds. Important assumptions basic to the inception and the development of this study have been:

1. Primary groups are functional social relationships that not only indicate a community of local interests and wants, but also serve as agencies for expressing these interests and wants and securing their satisfaction.
2. The social participation of primary groups is best conceived as an *activity* characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation. Corollary to this assumption, it is postulated that, other things being equal, the amount of face-to-face association is a fair index of the satisfactions derived from such activity.
3. It is possible for the analytical, quantitative measurement of the social participation normally taking place in and through primary groups to have an important directive value to the programizational work of these groups.
4. In order to understand social structures and social participation adequately, it is necessary to study them in the light of their complete sociological matrix interpreted in terms of psychical activity, biological and sociological heredity, geographical influences, historical developments, economic expediency, and like determinative factors.

### B. Conclusions and Deductions

In making a study such as this, one is certain to receive a number of very definite impressions; but in order that the reader may be able to make his own deductions, the data have been

presented in rather complete form. However, subject to the limitations of this study, the writer has stated, in varying degrees of tentativeness, his own impressions and interpretations, hoping that they may make clearer the findings of the study and their application to rural social research and programization.

### PARTICIPATION DETERMINANTS OF MINOR IMPORTANCE

*Distance, Tenure, and Mortgages.*—Distance, tenure, and mortgages are of but minor importance as determinants of the primary group activities of this town. The relatively low importance of distance is shown by the great degree of socio-economic dependence of the town upon outside sources, by the perfect attendance at the dancing school, and by the low correlation between time and distance in church attendance (.197); as to tenure and mortgages, it is shown statistically by their low correlation with "total hours of social participation"—.041 and .215 respectively. Therefore, it seems logical to conclude that *interest* is a more important determinant of primary group activity in this town than any of these three factors, and that these factors offered as reasons for non-participation in certain group activities, or as arguments against the consolidation of certain local organizations, can be regarded as having but little real validity.

### PARTICIPATION DETERMINANTS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE

*Geography and Historical Episodes.*—Geography and history are broadly integrated with social participation, both as determinants and as explanations of it. For example, favorable geographical position gave this town a prominent part in the activities of colonization, the War of Independence, and the period of national growth which followed. As a result, this town is rich in historical relics and traditions which to-day are the source of a certain amount of social stratification and conflict, because the newly arrived immigrants know and care very little, or nothing, about these relics and traditions. The geographical location of this town has been favorable, likewise, to a rapid influx of immigrant families who linger a while in the large seaboard cities before settling upon the land. Differences in the agricultural quality of the land, as a geographical determinant, seem at least partially responsible for the shifting of the population as to number, nation-

ality, and occupation. The better farm land, at least in recent decades, has been more densely populated than the poor soil types, and the submarginal areas have tended to pass out of the hands of the older native stock into the hands of immigrant families of urban origin. Likewise, much of the land that was once industriously subjected to a hand type of general farming, largely for economic reasons, is rapidly reverting to the unimproved class and is being used for recreational purposes.

History, studied in an interpretative manner, either as isolated episodes or as a series of unfolding events, like geography, makes the social structures and the social activities of this town appear as an orderly evolution largely shorn of accident and chance. Thus we have been enabled to note, at least partially, the dynamic influence of war, social conflict, improved means of communication and transportation, and other factors, upon the movement, the social solidarity, and the occupation of the population; and thus it has been possible to trace, at least in merest outlines, social structures and social participation, handicapped on the one hand by traditions and customs that have outlived their functional usefulness, and challenged and stimulated on the other hand by a universal public school education and the reception of newer and diverse population elements.

In summary, it seems safe to conclude, then, that geography and history, whether viewed as determinants or as explanations of social participation, furnish a fundamental, if only partial, account of human ecology and the conditions that broadly determine the occupation and the socio-economic efficiency of a population at any given period of time.

*Dominance of the City.*—City dominance over the character of the social structures and the social activities of this town is indicated by the great socio-economic dependence of this town upon the cities, by the urban origin of such a large percentage of its present inhabitants, by the urban types of recreation enjoyed, by the presence of so many summer boarders of urban origin, by the vocational division of so many families, by the nature of the household equipment, by the general impersonality of local relationships and by the centrifugence of interests cityward (see especially Tables 3, 5-B, 7, 20, 29). The dominance of the cities over rural towns like Lebanon subjects many rural institutions and service agencies to a life and death competition, and it like-

wise brings into bold relief the question of the desirability and the feasibility of combining certain rural institutions and service agencies with others, either locally or in the city.

*Nationality.*—Differences in nationality have been and are now a social determinant of great importance in this town. This is shown by the nationality variants in the membership of the voluntary formal organizations of the town and in the official leadership of these organizations (see Tables 9 and 13). This factor as a social determinant is further shown by the withdrawal of the older native stock from certain localities made up largely of immigrants, and by the presence of animosities that often lie hidden by the amenities of life, but which, nevertheless, make half-hearted or entirely prevent desirable coöperative enterprises. Thus, it is probable that differences in nationality, at present, are the greatest single social determinant in this town.

*Participation Reciprocity.*—Reference to Tables 12 and 14 shows that participation in one type of social activity bears a reciprocal relationship to participation in other types, though in some cases this relationship seems rather slight. For example, certain nationality groups that were very weak in formal group activity were proportionately strong in informal group activity (e.g., the Germans); those excelling in church attendance participated but relatively little in civic clubs, neighborhood visiting, athletics, and recreation. A further consideration of this and other determinants evokes these questions: What norms of participation are both adequate and desirable for the various case-groups of individuals? What is a desirable and a proper balance between individual interests and locality (community) interests in encouraging group activity and determining standards of participation?

*The Time of Year.*—The season of the year is a social determinant of considerable importance in this town. Participation in formal group life for July is only four-fifths that of January; vacations are taken mostly in the summer; and during the summer months summer boarders command the interest and the effort of a great many households (see Tables 21 and 25). A consideration of this determinant raises the question of the desirability and the feasibility of promoting certain social programs in areas like Lebanon during the summer months.

*Age and Sex Factors.*—Age and sex are social participation determinants of considerable importance. Reference to Table 15

shows that certain age groups and certain sex groups abstain entirely from certain social activities, but participate a great deal in other activities. The men, on the whole, participate more than the women in athletic, economic, and fraternal group activities, while the women excel the men in religious and socio-religious group activities; and the young folk under twenty years of age participate very little, or not at all, in fraternal, civic, and economic group activities. Since, within certain limits, the authority under which many primary groups operate does not formally recognize age and sex qualifications for membership to these groups, it seems reasonable to conclude that:

(1) Voluntary participation in these group activities indicates, in a general way, the desires and the interests that motivate the action leading to the choice and the selection of such group membership and group participation.

(2) Face-to-face group activity is becoming increasingly significant because modern wants are multiplying and the methods of satisfying them are improving, and there is a general extension of time for leisure and an increasing ability to discharge social obligations by the payment of money. Adherence to such groups and the amount of participation in their activities, then, show quantitatively and qualitatively what, in a field of competing participation determinants, *claims the man.*

*Improved Means of Communication and Transportation.*—It will be noted (Table 17) that the use of the automobile, the improved road, and the telephone, with slight variations, tends toward a reduction in the amount of primary group activity in the town. Improved facilities for transportation and communication have widened the circles of acquaintanceship and social contact, and have broadened the areas of interest and socio-economic service. With the passing of time, it is likely that the social relationships and interests of rural sections like Lebanon will become more centrifugal, more impersonal, and more specialized as to function. Like certain other participation determinants, the apparent effect of improved means of communication and transportation upon the activities of primary groups here emphasizes the desirability and the necessity of:

(1) Making frequent inventories of the efficiency of the local primary groups and their programs.

(2) Working out with the larger population centers a suitable balance between the activities of the local primary groups and those of the bigger centers.

In view of the foregoing examination of the determinants of social participation in this town, the complexity and the subtlety of primary group activities become apparent. It seems clear that whether these determinants exercise their influences by conditioning the permanency of the residence and the economic status of families, or whether they exercise it by giving satisfaction or annoyance to families heterogeneous in mores, as they participate or fail to participate in the local group activities, these determinants must be suitably recognized in all the important programizational work of primary groups.

### CERTAIN EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

An educational significance is broadly implied in certain findings of this study. This may be very briefly stated as follows:

(1) The public schools are the only primary groups in which the children of all the people, regardless of nationality, party, or creed, intermingle to any appreciable extent. This fact emphasizes the strategic importance of the public schools as socializing agencies. While it is probable that the public schools of this town are reasonably efficient, their educational leaders should constantly test the matter and methods of instruction in terms of the known needs of the socially heterogeneous personnel of their student-body and patronage.

(2) The foreigners, who constitute about half the population of this town and who are largely Catholic or Orthodox Jew in faith, show considerable religious zeal, even under the handicaps of the absence in the town of well-organized congregations and professionally trained resident religious leaders of their own faiths (see Table 10). It would seem that a resident priest and a resident rabbi, fully cognizant of the socio-economic needs of the people of their own faiths and acquainted with such sources of educational assistance as the Agricultural College extension service and the departments of agriculture and home economics in the local high school, could contribute much toward strengthening the socio-economic efficiency of these groups. It

would seem that the prestige of the priest and the rabbi with their respective groups would enable them to bring to these groups such assurance and advice as would result in the attainment of an enlightened self-interest and the acceptance of many kinds of professional and educational assistance that, as yet, are practically untouched by them.

(3) The need for vocational education in agriculture by many adult farmers of this town, particularly the foreigners, is broadly indicated by such facts as the following: a large majority of the present farmers have moved here directly from the city and city occupations; farms are bought and not inherited or rented to any appreciable extent; many farms are held under heavy mortgages; many farms are composed wholly, or largely, of economically submarginal land; a majority of the households are vocationally divided; and there is a high degree of impermanency of residence. In view of these facts, we may recommend, with a fair degree of assurance, that:

(*a*) The teaching of the various problems of management surrounding the purchase of farms should be emphasized in certain agricultural courses offered by the local high school and other agencies.

(*b*) The agricultural instruction of adult farmers, especially the immigrants, should be confined to a few of the more important farm enterprises of the town. The teaching should be done concretely, and should be followed up by a great deal of carefully supervised farm practice. The dairy barn, the poultry establishment, and the field, frequently, if not usually, should be the "schoolroom."

(*c*) Because of language handicaps and for other reasons, many foreign farmers cannot be assembled, at present, into formal groups for instruction. Therefore, extension workers and others must approach these farmers informally in a spirit of friendliness and helpfulness. Bankers, feed dealers, and others with whom these farmers do business, should be encouraged to assist them by giving such advice and furnishing such goods and services as are approved by the best modern farm practice.

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(4) The need of a sound training, both technical and professional, on the part of responsible leaders in areas like Lebanon, is strongly implied by the findings of this research. Society here, as in most other places, is so volatile and dynamic, and social relationships so complex and subtle, that expert leadership is highly desirable in all important group undertakings. Therefore, social service agencies doing business here should select their leaders with great care as to their qualities of initiative, sympathy, vision, good judgment, ability to organize, and initial educational preparation *adequate for doing the specific job.*

### THE DECREASE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TOWN AS A SOCIO-CIVIC UNIT

In bringing the present study to a close, it seems clear that primary group interests and activities are so dynamic and far-flung that rural towns like Lebanon are no longer the important socio-civic units as in former days. Indifference toward the town meeting by many citizens, rising standards of living, increasing demands for expert professional service, improvements in the means of communication and transportation, fluidity of the population as to residence, and like factors, tend to make rural areas like Lebanon too small and unresourceful to furnish their citizens more than a few of the simpler and more rudimentary socio-economic services. In fact, it seems that both the service and the control functions of primary groups in this town are being replaced gradually by the specialized services and the more impersonal controls of the Bigger Community.

If these conclusions be valid, it would appear that the "rural community," in its usual local geographical significance, is not a satisfactory unit for the organization of many socio-economic activities in towns like Lebanon. Many thoughtful students of coöperative farm marketing now maintain that such coöperatives should be organized upon the *commodity* basis, and that a given coöperative should enroll only those whose business gives them a legitimate and a real interest in it. While the limits of the present study do not permit an extended or dogmatic generalization upon this point, it may be urged as a plausible hypothesis that mutuality or similarity of *interests* is a more nearly workable basis for most rural life organization than is mere geographical juxtaposition.

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